Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-93-230 *2 December 1993*

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Bosnia Peace Talks Continue; Officials Comment

Muslim Delegation Sees 'Hope'

AU0112163993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Report by Nada Al-Isa from Geneva]

[Text] Exhausting and difficult. That is how Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, briefly described today's talks with the Serbian side which lasted nearly five hours. The Bosnian-Serbian and the Bosnian-Croatian talks were held in Geneva today. Naturally, the maps, that is, a return of a part of the occupied territory, was discussed with the Serbs, and the access to the sea near Neum with the Croats.

As we have learned, the EC today voiced interest, almost a demand, that the Bosnian Republic get additional territories; that is, that a part of the occupied territories be returned to it. For this reason the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation held direct negotiations with the Serbs. The delegation was, as you have heard, led by President Izetbegovic.

The talks are, as you could have heard, difficult but there is also hope that a solution will be found, the members of our delegation emphasize. It has also been emphasized, and Europe supports it, too, that the Bosnian Government must get the territories by which it would round up the future Bosnian Republic.

Member of our delegation Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, who participated in the talks with the Croatian side, said that there was no agreement regarding access to the sea near Neum. At the end of the talks he said that it was not the part of the territory, that is to say, the coast near Neum that was in question but that the talks about the modalities of the proposed plan are rather difficult. Therefore, there nevertheless is hope.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation put forward its own proposal for the access to the sea near Neum, about which we can only say for the time being that it contains the already known justified demands about the sovereignty over the part of the coast near Neum. Naturally, the answer and an agreement with Croatian side is being awaited.

The only concrete thing that we have learned in Geneva today was what Lord Owen, one of the cochairmen, told the journalists. At a brief news conference he reiterated that the position of the EC and the international community is that the Bosnian Republic must get the planned 33.3 percent of the total territory of the present Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to Lord Owen certain progress has been achieved in Geneva, thanks to, as he said, great pressure of the EC on the Croats and the Serbs. If this is the case then one would wish that there be more pressures. In any case it is a good omen that the talks will not end today, as it had been originally planned, but will continue at least through tomorrow.

Reporter Summarizes Talks

AU0112210693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Geneva]

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, says that the day in Geneva was exhausting and difficult. We must have patience, Prime Minister Silajdzic says. Lord Owen, however, speaks of certain progress.

Therefore, only short and careful statements. There have been no anticipations, assessments, or expectations voiced. The day was very strenuous, and how could it not have been, when the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation held talks with the Croats and the Serbs today. They discussed the maps, that is to say, return of a part of the occupied territories with the Serbs, and access to the sea near Neum with full sovereignty over a part of the coast with the Croats.

We have learned a little more about the size of the future Bosnian Republic today, that is to say, what we already knew has been confirmed, namely, that the future Bosnian Republic must amount to at least 33.3 percent of the territory of the present Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At a brief news conference, acclaimed Lord Owen asserted that none of the sides had anything against this, or at least, nobody contested this number, and for Lord Owen this represents a certain progress, which, as he said, took place chiefly because the European Twelve is still pressing hard on the Serbs and the Croats. The Serbs were told that there will be no alleviation not to speak of abolition of the sanctions before a satisfactory solution is reached. Croatia was warned not to make too much fuss about the access to the sea. There is hope, but as Prime Minister Silajdzic said, we must be patient.

Patience is now needed in correction of the maps. The procedures will not change but some alterations are inevitable as the maps have been drawn by the English who, naturally, do not know the geopolitical and geostrategic characteristics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and have thus, for example, due to sheer ignorance cut a railroad in half in some areas. The final version of the maps will take into consideration the natural linkage of the territories.

As the negotiators say, vulnerable points still exist. The entire Geneva round of these talks is vulnerable. However, it seems that a little optimism has emerged this evening, especially following a statement by Chairman of the EC Ministerial Council Willy Claes who said: The international community must not accept failure. It must take advantage of the chance that has now been given to the warring sides to stop the Bosnia-Herzegovina tragedy. The Serbs and the Croats have not exactly demonstrated their embracing of this, as many

people say, last chance. They are, thus, foot-dragging, complicating things, changing agendas, and splitting hairs.

Milosevic and Tudjman were not in Geneva today. Who knows whether this helped or not.

Croatian Envoy To UN Comments

LD0212002393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Interview with Miomir Zuzul, Croatian ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva, by correspondent Jozo Curic in Geneva—live]

[Text]

[Curic] Good evening to our viewers in Croatia, and good evening to our viewers abroad watching us via satellite from our temporary studio in Geneva. Our guest is Mimior Zuzul, the Croatian ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva. Good evening.

[Zuzul] Good evening.

[Curic] Mr. Ambassador, there have been negotiations with the Muslims today. Is there anything new?

[Zuzul] Nothing that we did not expect. We are still walking in the same circle.

[Curic] What circle? What is going on?

[Zuzul] First of all, no one can define with certainty whether all sides are interested in reaching some kind of agreement. I believe that now everyone knows that Croatia is ready to accept and reach a realistic agreement. It is difficult to say whether this is true of the others. In other words, demands always shift, making the reaching of an agreement more difficult.

[Curic] Do you think that this is Muslim tactics in order to buy time?

[Zuzul] I would not dare assert this. It is possible. Perhaps they are really trying to gain as much as they can, but perhaps they are only trying to procrastinate. General opinions vary between the two. As I have said, it is difficult to claim that it is the one or the other.

[Curic] [Bosnian Prime Minister] Haris Silajdzic yesterday said that aboard the Invincible aircraft carrier, Muslims obtained sovereignty over one port in the Adriatic. Is that true?

[Zuzul] No, I do not know where he said this. I know that he knows that this is not correct. The public have been informed about what was agreed aboard the Invincible, and there is no talk about sovereignty over any port. What was agreed on the Invincible is the use of free zones in the ports of Rijeka and Ploce. There are many similar cases in line with international agreements, the most famous one being the Hamburg Agreement. Our agreement is more similar to the agreement the former Yugoslavia held with Greece for the port of Thessaloniki. However, any kind of sovereignty or territorial rights are out of the question.

[Curic] The talks between the three sides are continuing in Geneva. Of course, Croatia is taking part in the talks. Today we had a meeting with Muhamed Filipovic. What are the comments in diplomatic circles, or let us say among the public in Geneva, on what happened in the past four days?

[Zuzul] It is possible that commentaries change to a certain extent as time passes, depending on the amount of information the diplomats or the commentators are able to obtain. The expectations among some of them were very high at the beginning, i.e. they expected that something truly very revolutionary could happen in the course of the peace talks. Those with such expectations are now a bit disappointed.

Those better informed, and who had a better knowledge of the situation since the very beginning—I believe—judge things in a realistic way. According to them, there have been some positive moves, in the sense that foundations have been created for negotiations. There was a real danger that negotiations would be blocked until after winter. And we know that winter brings suffering to all sides: For Croats, Muslims, and Serbs in both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. It is, therefore, a good thing that this [negotiating] process is open. That is one good thing.

The second good thing is that an important partner—the European Union—has joined in the negotiations. We must not forget that this is the first time, since the EC officially become the European Union, that it has tried to organize an important political action. It will not easily agree to running in circles.

The third important thing is that a framework for negotiations was proposed. At this stage Croatia explicitly accepted the framework. This framework suits us, it is realistic. We could, of course, think of better or speedier solutions from our point of view. I believe that this framework sufficiently takes into account Croatian interests and that it is realistically positive. The other two sides, you know, made different statements. Their attitude was negative, while at the same time they accepted [the framework].

The negotiations are now continuing within this framework. However, I shall stress again that we have yet to see to what extent each side accepted it as something that can lead to an agreement.

[Curic] Did you tell Muhamed Filipovic today that there will be no territorial concessions?

[Zuzul] There is no need for me to tell him anything. President Tudjman said it clearly. The Croatian stand in this respect is completely clear. Croatia, Croats from Bosnia- Herzegovina, and Croatia as a republic are ready for an agreement. There must be certain concessions

linked with this agreement. However, we will not accept any territorial claims that will endanger the future of not only the Croat Republic in Bosnia- Herzegovina, but of Croatia as a whole. We do not consider such concessions as realistic. Such an agreement is simply not possible.

[Curic] Our guest, Miomir Zuzul, Croatian ambassador to the United Nations. Thank you and greetings to Zagreb.

[Zuzul] Thank you and greetings to viewers.

Bosnian Ambassador Cited

AU0112200893 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Geneva, Dec 1 (AFP)—Bosnia's warring Serbs and Moslems are to continue their talks into a fourth day Thursday, conference spokesman John Mills announced here Wednesday evening. "It is useful that they continue talking," he said.

But Mohamed Sacirbey, Bosnia's ambassador to the UN in New York, said two sessions of talks Wednesday between Serbs and Moslems had failed to yield much progress.

Meanwhile the international mediators, David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, were holding a separate meeting Wednesday evening with the leader of the breakaway Bosnian Croats, Mate Boban, Mills added.

Asked whether the Serb side had made any territorial concessions—as demanded by the EC foreign ministers—Sacirbey suggested they were not "of real substance." "Until we have those concessions agreed to at least in principle and some idea of where they will be made then I'm afraid we're not going in the right direction," he said.

The Moslem side has presented an overall map on partition of Bosnia and the Serb side has responded by presenting a map of Sarajevo which they suggested be permanently divided, he said. "Frankly I find any division of Sarajevo to be repugnant, the recreation of Berlin," he said. "But, on the other hand, the people of Sarajevo have to suffer the consequences of the world not coming to their aid to lift the siege and if division is somehow what the world deems, by default, is necessary then we've got to safe lives," he said.

The Moslem side had earlier refused to discuss the status of Sarajevo, whose outer suburbs are held by the Serbs, saying that under peace proposals negotiated this summer the Bosnian capital would be run by the UN for a two-year period after which there would be new negotiations to determine its status.

Muslim Delegation Members Comment

LD0112230793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] The meeting between our state delegation, that of the Serb aggressor, and the Croatian sides in Geneva today marked the continuation of the talks on possibilities of establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For this program we received statements by members of our delegation, [Presidency member] Mirko Pejanovic and Muhamed Filipovic.

[Begin recording] [Pejanovic] The talks in Geneva are proceeding with a great deal of difficulty, as on every previous occasion. The demands of the B-H state delegation for the return of the territories taken by force have been given fresh support in the form of the European Twelve's firm stand calling on the Serb and Croatian sides to make territorial concessions. Mutual talks between Bosnian, Serb, and Croatian delegations were resumed owing to the EU's [European Union] resolute initiative and the terms that the EU set at the beginning of the Geneva meeting. The talks are in their third day. We will persevere with our demands. We are discussing eastern Bosnia and western Krajina with the Serb side. A possible solution to the status of Sarajevo was discussed today. With the Croatian side we discussed access to the sea and territorial demarcation. A joint commission was set up that includes Muhamed Filipovic and Zuzul [Croatian ambassador to UN]. Together with [name indistinct] they are working on a solution, according to which the Bosnian Republic would have priority use of an access road and part of the coast in Neum.

How much progress in the talks will be made, if any—it remains to be seen over the next few days. It is a good thing that the talks continued and that the EU exerted pressure on the Serb and Croatian sides to make territorial concessions to the Bosnian Republic.

[Filipovic] Our demands refer to parts of western Bosnia, in the Sanski Most and Prijedor areas; to parts of eastern Bosnia, in the Srebrenica, Zepa, Rogatica, Gorazde, and Visegrad areas. Our intention is to ensure that Srebrenica and Bratunac are linked with Tuzla, that Gorazde is linked with Visegrad, and that some other territorial changes are carried out. The status of Sarajevo was also mentioned during the discussion. The Serb side made certain demands and insisted that the question of Sarajevo be resolved first of all as the key issue.

As far as today's talks with the Croatian side are concerned, they focused on the problem of the status of Neum, i.e. on how to realize the already recognized right to a part of the coast in Neum and an access to the coast, in other words, how to secure the access road, which would be under the sovereignty of the Muslim republic. This is considered a crucial question for the future republic with a Muslim majority, i.e. for the future Bosnia-Herzegovina, because this secures its status as a maritime country and consequently gives it numerous

rights, thus guaranteeing the continuity of the geopolitical, state, and legal character of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a maritime country. [end recording]

Mediators Express 'Cautious Optimism'

AU0212101093 Paris AFP in English 0913 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Geneva, Dec 2 (AFP)—The international mediators on peace in the former Yugoslavia Thursday expressed cautious optimism on progress in talks between Bosnia's warring Moslem and Serb factions.

"We are beginning to slowly see, I think, something important emerge," according to David Owen, the European Community mediator, following Wednesday's talks on partition of the country between Moslems and Serbs.

"The fundamental thing is to find 33.3 percent so that the predominantly Moslem republic can have a third of the country. That's more or less accepted as an aim," he said, adding however that "it doesn't mean that we can actually achieve exactly that". The Moslems and Serbs are "talking seriously about Sarajevo and about other areas as well," he added. "It's a good sign we're making progress," he said, but the talks were "very slow".

UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg said for his part that Wednesday's talks were the first "with some movement in the dialogue". "If we continue like yesterday it will be fine, but we never know," he added.

The warring factions indicated Wednesday evening there had been some progress in discussions on the future of Sarajevo, which could be divided between Serbs and Moslems. The Moslem side said however they were still awaiting substantial territorial concessions in eastern Bosnia.

"If we do not have progress on eastern Bosnia, I suspect tomorrow (Thursday) will be the last day of the talks," said Bosnia's ambassador to the UN Mohamed Sacirbey.

Division of Sarajevo Discussed

AU0112212093 Paris AFP in English 2013 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Geneva, Dec 1 (AFP)—Talks between Bosnia's warring factions Wednesday focused on the division of Sarajevo with the Serbs saying they were prepared to concede some ground in the capital to the Moslems.

Radovan Karadzic, leader of the breakaway Bosnian Serbs who control some of the Sarajevo suburbs, said he had discussed the future of the city with Bosnia's Moslem President Alija Izetbegovic and "maybe we are close to a good solution".

"We are considering possibilities of making two cities, two neighbouring cities and that can be a good opportunity for both Moslems and Serbs," Karadzic told reporters. "We have made some concessions concerning the city proper," he added.

Mohamed Sacirbey, Bosnia's ambassador to the UN in New York, said "some issues were discussed with movement towards resolution," but he added that the Moslem side was still awaiting territorial concessions from the Serbs in eastern Bosnia.

Karadzic Comments 'Wishful Thinking'

AU0212114393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Geneva]

[Text] Peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina are continuing in Geneva. At the moment of filing this report, the talks between the delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbia side are under way. All we know is that maps are most likely on the table, that is, they are discussing [passage indistinct]. Karadzic hurried to tell foreign reporters that the partition of Sarajevo had been agreed on as well. However, that is just wishful thinking on his part [passage indistinct].

Belgrade Radio Reports on Talks

AU0212114593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Report by Milorad Denda from Geneva]

[Text] The Serbian-Muslim talks on the territorial delineation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina resumed in the Palais des Nations in Geneva two hours ago. The Serbian delegation consists of Radovan Karadzic and Momcilo Krajisnik, while the Muslim delegation consists of Alija Izetbegovic and Haris Silajdzic.

Although the participants in the talks did not make any statements on arriving for the talks, it has been learned that the talks on the territorial delineation in Sarajevo are continuing. The Serbian side consider the solution of this issue to be a key that will open the door to the final peace agreement, along with the solution to the Muslim outlet or access to the sea, which the Muslim side should resolve in the negotiations with the Croats.

According to some information, the Muslims are demanding two thirds of Sarajevo. This remains to be decided in the negotiations. After the seven-hour negotiations last night, Radovan Karadzic indicated a better climate and a shift toward a solution when he said that the atmosphere was much better yesterday, that there was some progress in the negotiations on Sarajevo, and that a good solution is perhaps near. Karadzic said that they were discussing the possibility of Sarajevo being made into two neighboring towns, which would be an opportunity for the Serbs and Muslims, as he said, to be good neighbors.

Karadzic also revealed that the border in the town will not run along the river, because the Serbs made certain concessions. In the atmosphere of these promising statements the negotiations resumed two hours ago. Lord Owen also said that things in the negotiations are moving in a positive direction.

Finally, a Swiss newspaper made a move that attracted attention here. Geneva NOUVEAU QUOTIDIEN, a paper with a pro-European orientation that is distributed throughout Switzerland and France, carried on page 2 the entire speech of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, word for word, without any commentary, the speech that the Serbian president made on Monday [29 November] before the 12 ministers of the European Union.

Berisha Addresses Nation on Liberation Day

AU0112174293 Tirana ATA in English 1141 GMT 29 Nov 93

["President Berisha's TV Address To Mark the Independence and Liberation of Albania"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 29 (ATA)—Albanian President Sali Berisha stressed in a TV address to the Albanian nation to mark the independence and liberation of Albania:

On November 28 we all together celebrate the 550th anniversary of the liberation of Kruje. Gjergj Castriot Scanderbeg liberated the blessed city of Kruje 550 years ago and Scanderbeg's flag fluttered on his castle. Commemorating November 28, the whole Albanian people and nation show respect for their history and triumphant Scanderbeg, immortal leader on Albania's road to freedom.

On November 28 we commemorate the day of the flag, our national day. Ismail Qemali, bright figure of the Albanian nation, raised Scanderbeg's flag in Vlore, thus declaring Albania independent. The ancient Albanian state began its life after many centuries of interruption.

On this day we commemorate Hasan Prishtina, Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Mihal Grameno, Cerciz Topulli, and hundreds of brave Albanian fighters who laid down their lives for dignity of the Albanian people and the flag of Albania during the great uprisings in Kosova and across Albania, which shook the foundations of Ottoman empire and showed the world that the Albanian nation were determined to win lost independence and freedom at all costs and ready to fight and win the war being alone or supported by others. Eternal glory to the Albanian patriots who fought and laid down their lives for the independence of Albania. Albania is now free and independent as they wished it.

We celebrate on November 28 another great historic event, the liberation of Albania from Nazi-fascist occupiers. The National Liberation War was one of the most brilliant epopees in the history of Albania. In this fight hundreds and thousands of Albanian boys and girls of various ages, regions and political convictions, took up arms, formed partisan units and fought in mountains. Albanian partisans who displayed their courage and selflessness in the many year war and made great sacrifices liberated Albania and ranked it in the anti-fascist world coalition. Glory to thousands of martyrs who died for the liberation of Albania! They died for a free and democratic Albania and their aspiration has become a reality today and they rest quietly in their free homeland. The martyrs for the liberation of Albania will also have room in another warm nest, in the heart of all those who love freedom and Albania.

November 28 is for the Albanians the day of great holidays, the day of the flag and independence, the liberation of Kruje and Albania, the day of the freedom of the Albanian nation. God bless November 28 and Albanians wherever they are.

November 28 showed to Albanians that occupation and dictatorship, however long they may last, are temporary whereas freedom is eternal. It showed that those who fight and make sacrifices for freedom are eternal and immortal. History of mankind shows that those nations who have lost their freedom have been liquidated. History shows that Albanians have fought, died, and worked for freedom.

This great holiday finds the Albanians wherever they are, in Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, Cameria, and diaspora more united than ever round Scanderbeg's free flag. The Albanians, wherever they are, are an important factor of peace and stability. For the first time in present Albania the Albanians are making reality the ideals of Buzuku and Budi, Bardhi and Barleti, Naim and Konica, Fan Noli and Fishta, they are working to establish the rule of law, a market economy and to integrate Albania to the civilized families of Europe and the world. The Albanians in Kosova, although facing great oppression of Serbs, have won the admiration, respect, and support of the whole international community due to the resistance through democratic means. No doubt they will win their freedom and rights.

Albanians in diaspora distributed far and wide the world, joyfully celebrate together with us the holidays being proud of their name, because Albania, the sacred homeland of their ancestors, is no longer a country of bunkers of European communism, or evils of paranoiac dictator, but a free country of a free people, which forges ahead and develops bearing in mind our ideals, the hopes and dreams of our children. God bless Albania, its flag and freedom.

Paper Criticizes Utilities Problems

AU3011103093 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Nov 93 pp 1, 4

[Article by Beqir Skreli: "No Fire, No Water, No Apartment"]

[Text] Since democratic Albania destroyed its industry as a relic of the old regime, all the ministries that once dealt with industry should now have a single name: Ministry of Utilities. After all, what else should they deal with besides meeting the people's needs for electricity, drinking water, firewood, paraffin, and coal, and supervising the reconstruction of apartments?

This situation is a result of the brilliant policy pursued by the Democratic Party [PD], which told the people, although worn out and exhausted after 50 years of work, that they had won themselves no rights at all. As soon as they themselves came to power, the people would enjoy every right and comfort, like in Europe and the United States. Work was relegated to second place, or rather was not mentioned at all. Pleasure came first. So God willed, and it has been two years now since the PD came to

power. There is no electricity, no water, no gas, and there are no apartments. Our streets are overflowing with garbage, and the danger of epidemics hangs over people's heads like the sword of Damocles. We run the risk of lice. This is the pleasure that the PD promised the people. Casting an eye over these victories of the PD (the most successful party in the east), the Socialists asked certain parliamentary questions of Messrs. Abdyl Xhaja and Ilir Manushi, who cover these problems in the government.

Presenting an entire forest of figures to parliament, Mr. Xhaja said that there will again be disruptions in the domestic electricity supply. He blamed this on the past. According to him, the country's total electrification in 1970 was more demagogy than a final solution of the problem. While saying this, he forgot what he had said earlier, that our hydroelectric stations produce up to 7 billion kilowatt hours per year, that our energy system is capable of meeting our needs and even producing a surplus for export by the year 2005. Mr. Xhaja said that the mass introduction of electrical household appliances had drastically increased electricity consumption. How strange these PD ministers are! On the one hand, they boast of the arrival of so many television sets, washing machines, refrigerators, radiators, etc., but, on the other hand, they complain when they are used! Would they prefer these things to be bought and then used as chicken coops, as one deputy suggested?

According to Minister Xhaja, 40 percent of the electricity is stolen. So, there is theft even in democracy. This democracy, however, also created the Electricity Police. What does this police force do? Or does only one police force function in Albania, that which forcibly disperses the Socialist Party's rallies?

Let us accept that we cannot use electricity for heating, the only state in Europe in this position. How then will be keep warm? Mr. Xhaja spoke about the strategy for paraffin. Instead of the 54,000 tonnes of paraffin used every year, he said, 80,000 tonnes will be placed on the market this year. It seems that the other minister, Mr. Manushi, did not have time to check his figures, because he said that 50,000 tonnes of paraffin will be distributed this year. Never mind, this is the government's business. We see lines of people waiting at the paraffin distribution points and know we do not have a drop at home.

If hydroelectric stations produce 7 billion kilowatt hours and thermoelectric stations 1.2 billion kilowatt hours per year were built in the past for demagogic purposes, you too, gentlemen of the government, should become demagogues and solve the energy problem. The people want you to keep the promises you made, and not, as you plan, to increase the price of electricity to six times its present level. Ask your many friends abroad to help you govern. Your piecemeal solutions failed from the start. The people want long- term solutions.

Mr. Manushi left the responsibility for building many village water utilities to the local government. A fine way to worm out himself! However, what powers have been given to the local government, and what funds does it have? None.

What will be done for the homeless? According to Manushi, there are foreign offers to construct 21,000 apartments. However, he said that they are held up because there are still problems over the return of property. Another excuse. If this is the case, what is hindering the government from enforcing the law?

Manushi promised that the Beauville project will be completed by 1995, providing Tirana with water 24 hours a day. Let us hope.

Water, fire, and housing are life. So far, the government has not solved these problems at all. For the future, it only has words. Wait, you people.

Government Assistance for Less-Developed Areas

AU0112164893 Tirana ATA in English 1119 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 1 (ATA)—Thanks to government subsidies in areas with insufficient land for cultivation, 50 per cent of the peasantry in the Kukes district is given bread free of charge. Government aid for the less developed zones, such as Kukes, a mountain district with little arable land, has been considerable in other areas as well. About 180 thousand leks have been contributed for the production of potatoes, and millions of leks have also been granted to restore natural damages in agriculture, in construction, and other sectors of the economy.

These subsidies, as well as 69,250,000 leks used on social assistance, have been a great help for the 70 thousand inhabitants of the Kukes villages in meeting the difficulties of transition. Private farmers have been provided with specialised technical assistance which has been reflected in the growth of production this year.

Zhelev Wants 'More Legislative Powers'

AU0212074693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview for BBC Radio, President Zhelyu Zhelev said that he wants to receive more legislative powers from parliament with a view to overcoming the stagnation in legislative activity and implement reforms, for example, in privatization. Dr. Zhelev pointed out that the general expectation is for national elections to be held at the end of spring or the beginning of summer.

The president stated to the BBC that during the period of transition it is more expedient for all the countries of Eastern Europe to be presidential republics, but when this period is over those of them that so wish may readopt the form of the parliamentary republic, including, if it is necessary, returning to the election of the president by parliament itself.

There are some things that I would definitely insist on having, the Bulgarian president continued, and one of these is legislative initiative. Dr. Zhelev believes that when the president is elected directly by the people, he has no legislative initiative, and that his relations with parliament are limited to exercising a delaying veto on the laws that are adopted, and this, in his view, is not normal.

Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], told the BBC correspondent in Sofia that he does not accept the president's bid for greater legislative initiative and that, despite its shortcomings, the Constitution and the division of powers defined in it must be observed. He underlined the SDS position that parliament's legislative activity is being blocked by the new majority that supports Lyuben Berov's cabinet.

Filip Bokov, a representative of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], told the BBC that he regards the president's wish with a certain measure of suspicion, because in the situation in which Bulgaria is at the moment it is best to preserve the balance between the three forms of power and the possibility of checks. According to Filip Bokov, even at present the president has enough people available in the National Assembly who can propose legislative initiatives.

Cabinet Responds to Podkrepa 'Appeal'

AU0212080093 Sofia BTA in English 2044 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—Today the cabinet responded to the "Appeal for saving the nation" which the Podkrepa Trade Union circulated yesterday, calling for the government's resignation, the formation of a caretaker government and early parliamentary elections.

Asking who stands behind the appeal—the entire trade union, its leadership, or its leader Konstantin Trenchev only, the cabinet voices surprise with the U-turn in Dr. Trenchev's behaviour. "He actually denied everything the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation (of the government, trade unions and employers) has achieved during nearly ten months of work," the cabinet says. Commenting on Mr. Trenchev's recent invectives concerning frustrated transactions, projects and contracts on foreign investment worth hundreds of millions of dollars, the ministers say they are groundless and never corroborated with documents.

"Mr. Trenchev has undertaken purely political tasks, involving the entire Podkrepa Labour Confederation in them," according to the cabinet. It describes the strike which Podkrepa is calling for mid- December as "essentially political, with labour grievances used as a mere front." According to the Podkrepa headquarters, the strike will involve miners, doctors, teachers and mechanical engineers. "This country needs no pointless strikes, a product of labour bossism, nor a pointless new confrontation and disunity among people," the cabinet says.

"No one would believe that the strike called by the Podkrepa Labour Confederation is political, with such economic collapse and such rates of inflation and unemployment," reads a statement sent to BTA, which the Executive Council of Podkrepa issued today, reacting to the cabinet's stand. The view that the government has utterly failed in all its undertakings is upheld by the entire trade union amalgamation and not just by its leader Konstantin Trenchev, according to the statement.

Fire at Kozloduy Nuclear Plant 'Localized'

AU0212155493 Sofia BTA in English 1518 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—A fire broke out in two shafts deep 18 metres in the special blocks of Units Five and Six of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant at 1128 AM [0928 GMT] today, BTA learned from the Interior Ministry press office. Old protective clothes used for work in a radioactive environment caught fire. The fire service of the Kozloduy Plant has been extinguishing the fire. At 3 PM it was localized. Background radiation is kept under observation by an expert team of the plant.

GATT Official Predicts Admission by May 1994

AU0212144993 Sofia BTA in English 1254 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—Bulgaria is likely to accede to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as a contracting party at the beginning of next year, today's STANDART NEWS says in a signed report. According to GATT Deputy Director General Ake Lyndein, who is responsible for the admission of new members to the organization, Bulgaria may accede to GATT in April or early in May 1994. The working group studying this country's trade regime, is expected to finish its work in February next year. Bulgaria's bilateral negotiations with the countries wishing to be granted trade concessions should also be completed. The last stage of Bulgaria's

accession as a contracting party of GATT and its integration with its structures began at the GATT meeting held in Geneva from November 1 to 4.

Bulgaria was granted observer's status in the GATT organization in 1967, in 1986 it applied for membership in it. An interdepartmental working group, headed by Pencho Georgiev, then deputy minister of trade, was set up to handle all matters concerning Bulgaria's admission to the organization.

Mario Apostolov lists some of the reasons for the delay in Bulgaria's accession to the GATT, including the isolation of the former Comecon countries and the differences between the systems of the Western and the East European countries. Central planning is one of the major obstacles to a country's accession to GATT because it is conceived as an institution for the liberalization of trade under market economy conditions. According to Mr. Lyndein, the reorganization of ministries in Bulgaria, the closure of its Ministry of Foreign Trade and the waste of its personnel also contributed to the delay. Bulgaria's present legislation is imperfect, the practical effect of some new pieces of legislation, for instance the bankruptcy bill and the anti-dumping one, is not known as parliament has not even adopted them yet. According to Mr. Lyndein, the United States, the Czech Republic and another ten countries are ready to negotiate with Bulgaria.

Daily Publishes Yeltsin's 'Secret Letter'

AU0212093893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 Dec 93 p 6

["Full text" of letter from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to representatives of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and France: "Yeltsin's Secret Letter on NATO Expansion"]

[Text] The letter sent by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to representatives of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and France—in which he reacted to the possibility of NATO's expansion to include the Central European states—aroused a great deal of attention and provoked a major response in our country. MLADA FRONTA DNES is the first mass medium to obtain the text of this letter. We publish it below in full in an unofficial translation.

"In correspondence with the practice of directly exchanging views on topical international matters, I would like to share with you some of the impressions that arose from my recent meetings with the leaders of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

"It was apparent from them that these countries—like numerous other states in Central and Eastern Europe—have an express wish to become affiliated to NATO and to achieve in this or another form their complete incorporation into this organization. Naturally, we took the opportunity to confirm the sovereign right of each state to choose its own method for guaranteeing its security, including participation in military-political alliances. We are also aware that the East Europeans do not harbor any nostalgia for the former "cooperation" within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. The general impression is that these countries have reason to expect a certain level of understanding for their security.

"At the same time, however, I cannot but—and I must—express our alarm that the discussions on NATO's future development are concentrating more and more on a scenario that reckons with the Alliance's numerical expansion by admitting the East European countries.

"I inform you candidly that we are inclined toward another course of action, a course of action leading to a truly pan-European security system and reckoning with collective actions (not, however, on the basis of membership in blocs) with the aim of averting the crises and conflicts now engulfing Europe and of resolving them. Security must be indivisible and must be based on pan-European structures.

"The main threat to Europe at the moment is not confrontation between the East and West, but a new generation of ethnic conflicts. The numerical expansion of NATO will make it more difficult to deal with the problem of effectively combating these conflicts. It is necessary to extend the policy of averting crises and asserting peace to the whole continent.

"Naturally, we understand that not every eventual incorporation of East European states into NATO will automatically lead to the Alliance somehow turning against Russia. NATO is not regarded as a bloc that opposes us. Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand how our public opinion could react to such a step. Not only the opposition, but also moderate circles will—undoubtedly—view this as a new kind of isolation for our country, something that diametrically contradicts our logical involvement in the Euro-Atlantic region.

"I would also like to draw your attention to the following fact. It is the matter of the Treaty on the Final Settlement With Respect to Germany signed in September 1990, and particularly its stipulations banning the deployment of foreign troops in the eastern federal laender of the Federal Republic of Germany. The spirit of these stipulations rules out any possibility of a NATO expansion eastwards.

"We are aware of the preparations for an extraordinary NATO summit that is to deal with the discussion concerning strategic changes in the development of the alliance and its tasks under the new conditions. We in Russia are interested in the summit adopting constructive decisions that correspond to the radical changes that occurred in Europe and the world. We hope that in the choice of new points of support for eastern policy, a deliberate and unhurried approach will prevail.

"On the whole, we are of the opinion that the relations between our country and NATO should be several degrees warmer than the relations between the alliance and Eastern Europe. The rapprochement between NATO and Russia, including the direct cooperation in advancing peace, could progress at a much quicker pace. It would be possible to include the East Europeans in this process.

"From a long-term point of view, the idea of us joining NATO should not be disregarded either. This notion, however, is presently a purely theoretical one.

"Today, I would like to propose to you and to your NATO partners that we jointly consider the possibilities of satisfying the East Europeans in the field of security.

"For instance, we would be willing—together with NATO—to officially offer them security guarantees with an emphasis on the assurance of sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders, and the maintenance of peace in the region. Such guarantees could be enshrined in a political declaration or a treaty on cooperation between the Russian Federation and NATO.

"Of course, we are ready to discuss other proposals, and we would also welcome an intensification of the Russian-German dialogue in the time preceding the upcoming NATO summit."

Poll Shows ODS Most Popular Party

AU0112152393 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 25 Nov 93 p 2

["(zj)"-signed report: "Citizens Reveal a Great and Prolonged Willingness To Go to the Polls"]

[Text] Prague—If parliamentary elections were to take place next week, 65 percent of citizens would participate in them. The Center for Empirical Research [STEM] claims that the proportion of citizens determined to vote is constantly high.

It is also apparent from the STEM poll, which involved 1,113 respondents, that the Civic Democratic Party is maintaining a stable position. Some 33 percent of citizens expressed themselves in favor of it. Seventeen percent of citizens would vote for the Czech Social Democratic Party, while 12 percent would vote for the Civic Democratic Alliance.

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (Left Bloc) gained 9.0 percent in the poll. The Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party received 5.0 percent of the vote and the Liberal Social Union and the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia received 4.0 percent in the electoral order of preference.

STEM also ascertained whom citizens would prefer if they did not vote for their "first" party. The most acceptable "second" party is the Civic Democratic Alliance (27 percent). During the past month, the number of citizens who would say "well" in response to a question on how the government and parliament are functioning has increased. While 62 percent were satisfied with the performance of Klaus' cabinet in October, 64 percent were satisfied in November. Parliament's rating has gone up from 34 percent to 37 percent.

Christian Democrats Cited on ODS Conference

AU0112213093 Prague CTK in English 1643 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 1 (CTK)—Vaclav Benda, chairman of the government coalition Christian Democratic Party (KDS), said today his impressions from the 4th conference of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) were mixed, but added his party would work for coalition cooperation to continue successfully.

Benda, whose party was the ODS's coalition partner in the June 1992 parliamentary elections the two parties maintain coalition ties up to date, took part in the ODS's conference held at the weekend as a guest. The ODS, the strongest government coalition party, has 66 out of a total of 200 parliamentary seats: The KDS has 10 seats.

Speaking at a press conference, Benda said that the conference was schizophrenic and that its results were not clear enough.

The same applies to the speech by the ODS Chairman and Czech Premier, Vaclav Klaus, Benda said. He added that the main problem was that it had not been clear when Klaus was speaking as party chairman and when as premier. The speech was to a certain degree schizophrenic in that he Klaus alternated the two posts.

If the results of the conference are read favorably, the conference must be evaluated most positively because it expressed the will to continue following the present ODS line, to radically pursue political and economic reforms, and to improve government coalition cooperation, Benda said.

But the conference conclusions also include an adverse layer which could produce serious complications in the coalition, Benda said.

He mentioned the statement that the ODS' coalition partners play an unfair game in the talks on the restitution of Church property and the old communist argument that whatever would be returned to the Churches would be taken away from the citizens. This is a hardly acceptable tone, Benda stressed.

The ODS supports only partial restitution of Church property, while the KDS and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) stand for comprehensive restitution. The position of the fourth coalition partner, the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), is close to that of the two Christian parties.

Benda said that also Klaus's evaluation of individual branches of the economy and social life was objectionable in that it listed all the good done by the ODS and all the bad done by the opposition.

But Benda stressed that he would strive for the KDS to read the ODS conference's results positively and to follow up the positive which was said at the conference so that the coalition may cooperate successfully.

Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU), said that the conference of no party, however successful it may be, should be glorified.

He was reacting to Klaus' alleged statement at the ODS conference that the conference was the greatest event of the year. Trnka branded such an opinion Klaus-centrism and stressed that the nation is fed up with absolutism.

Nevertheless, Trnka said he personally was satisfied with the conference's results, especially with the reelection of the old ODS leadership.

The conference reelected Vaclav Klaus as chairman, Petr Cermak as executive deputy chairman, and Jan Strasky, Jiri Vlach and Josef Zieleneic as deputy chairmen.

Daily Reports More Racism, Fascism in Republic

AU3011204493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Nov 93 pp 1,2

[Sabina Slonkova and Roman Gallo report: "Racism and Fascism Are Growing in the Republic"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The number of racist- or fascist-oriented movements is increasing. This is implied by the information MLADA FRONTA DNES obtained from the Justice Ministry, the Prosecutor's Office, security corps, anti-fascist organizations, and from the members of the extremist groups themselves. The experts estimate that between 1,000 and 3,000 people aged 18 to 30 years belong to these movements. Most of them used to belong to the skinhead movement.

More than ten samizdat journals are currently circulated, in which fascism and racial hatred—particularly against Gypsies, Jews, and Vietnamese—are openly promoted.

"Since the Jewry is settling also in our country, we hope that you, the only true patriots, will make an end to these invisible insects. Use any means to fight them! Once our ideas triumph and the colored ones are deported, we will quash the Jews within a week," the ARIJSKY BOJ [Aryan Struggle] journal wrote, for instance, in its first issue last year.

This and similar publications, often containing photographs of Adolf Hitler, racial laws, or symbols of the Third Reich, carry addresses at which other publications can be ordered.

At the same time, according to law, anyone who incites hatred against a nation or a race or incites a repression of the rights and freedoms of their members can be punished by imprisonment for up to one year. Based on this stipulation, eight people were prosecuted over the first eight months of the year.

Lawyers argue that prosecution for displays of racism and fascism is a very complicated matter. [passage omitted]

A member of one of the fascist organizations, the Narodni obec fasisticka [National Fascist Fellowship], told us that the main motivation of such movements is the endeavor to prevent the situation that recently occurred in Germany regarding the flow of immigrants. "It is not acceptable that immigrants would join the already immense number of unmanageable Gypsies. If that happened, it would be too late," they claim. Certain movements are, according to him, ready to go to such extremes as burning down houses in which citizens with a different skin color live, or eliminating them physically.

Already several months ago, the police have noticed contacts between the Czech ultra-right groupings and abroad, above all with Germany.

The annual congress of the neofascist German People's Union party in Passau last year, for instance, was attended by several dozen Czech youths.

The ultra-right movements endeavor to correlate their activities in several fascist organizations, among others in the National Socialist Movement of Europe. This organization demands in its program, published in one of the journals with fascist contents, a priority of its own nation "over anything and in everything." It wants to prevent "the control and influence of our economy by the world hegemony of semitic capitalism along with sympathizing national capitalism." It intend "to prevent any domestication or sojourns by non-Aryan foreigners in the country."

Physicians and psychologists encounter displays of racism, and occasionally also of fascism, even by children. [passage omitted]

The HOST civic initiative collects information on racial hatred and fascism. Its representative, Stanislav Penc, told us that HOST was established two months ago and, at this time, it has approximately 150 volunteer workers. HOST is also using information obtained within the extremist movements, and reports its work results to Interior Ministry representatives.

CTK Views Czech-German Talks on Compensation

AU0112165693 Prague CTK in English 0852 GMT 1 Dec 93

[By Lubos Sebestik]

[Text] Bonn, Dec 1 (CTK)—After Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel made it clear last week that German compensation to Czech victims of Nazism would have to be postponed until after the 1994 German parliamentary elections, hardly anyone expected the topic to become urgent along with the Sudeten German problem just after the two-day visit of a Czech parliamentary delegation in Bonn. For the German side the problem, on the contrary, became a priority subject of interest.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the theme was tabled by Chairman of the German Parliament (Bundestag) Rita Sussmuth, who has joined the two questions. In her case it is the more surprising because in the government Christian Democratic Union (CDU) Sussmuth belongs to the moderate, although not very numerous, wing which has no passion for historical reminiscences and is rather looking into the future.

Diplomatic sources in Bonn assert that it was German Chancellor Helmut Kohl who made his contribution to the discussion through Sussmuth's mediation. Kohl has allegedly realized, after unsuccessful talks between Zieleniec and Kinkel, the harmful mutual impact stagnating Czech-German relations could have and how negatively

can they influence the internal political climate in the neighboring reforming state.

On the other hand, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Kohl calculated that the Czech side's negative stand on Sudeten German claims also burdens the position of the Christian CDU/CSU [Christian Social Union] bloc during the pre-election campaign. Five years after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the expelled Sudeten Germans would want tangible progress in meeting their interests and not just traditional assurances that the German Government would not let them down and that their claims remain open.

Sussmuth was heating up the suspended theme carefully, and while speaking about the possibility of compensation to Czech victims she did not mention directly the necessity to negotiate the Sudeten German claims. Her presentation, which was undoubtedly discussed with Kohl, stressed that the Sudeten German problem should at least be discussed. A certain flexibility is also indicated by the view that the Bonn's officials are aware of the inappropriateness of comparing the two sides' sufferings given the "reasons" of Czechs' sufferings and the "consequences" of their sufferings which were after the war directed against Sudeten Germans.

Sussmuth also for the first time publicly confirmed on behalf of the German side that the intention of Czech President Vaclav Havel and Kohl that Czech victims of the Nazis be compensated through a "humanitarian gesture" in the form of German investment was dead. She did so while telling journalists that beside the Czech President also the German Chancellor made it clear that their proposal would not be realized until the German elections and that this is why new initiatives should be worked out on the basis of their idea.

The possibility of setting up a foundation to compensate Czech victims of the Nazis is beginning to be discussed again in the Bonn's corridors. Unlike the foundation which was established by the German Government for Polish victims two years ago and that which it promised to establish this year for victims in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, the fund for Czech victims would probably face a hitch. Some Sudeten German deputies in Bundestag are demanding, probably with the approval of the highest authorities, that the fund be a joint German-Czech one, and that it be designated for providing at least symbolic compensation also to Sudeten Germans. According to these notions such a project, legally disputable as far as the Czech side is concerned, would have been mostly financed by the German Side and Prague would contribute a rather symbolic sum to it.

The Foreign Affairs Committees of the two countries' parliaments should meet at the beginning of next year, apparently already in January, to discuss problems and prospects of bilateral relations. Sussmuth showed the interest in dealing especially with open questions which was rejected by a Czech parliamentary delegation led by Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde.

The agreed meeting, although without a preliminary set agenda, already represents a step forward. The Germans will evidently not give up historical problems and the Czechs will put an emphasis on current and future relations. But if Czech parliamentarians were to come to Germans with merely a laconic sweeping answer: "no, no and again no" to calls for mutual resettlement, then they would be far less understood than if they proposed clear and defined standpoints on the Czech Republic's relationship towards Germany and possibly their own proposals on how to overcome the common past and how to compensate Czech victims of Nazism.

Klaus Praises Uhde's Stance on Sudeten Germans

AU0112174493 Prague CTK in English 1541 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 1 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus phoned this morning Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde to thank him for his clear and radical statement, in which he had refused the call made by Bundestag President Rita Sussmuth concerning Sudeten Germans.

Sussmuth proposed on Monday [29 November], during Uhde's visit to Germany, that the two countries' parliaments discuss simultaneously two issues: Compensation for the Czech victims of the Nazi regime and the Sudeten Germans. Some 13,000 Czech political prisoners of World War Two, their widows or orphans demand compensation from Germany. Some 2.5 million Sudeten Germans were expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War Two and their property was expropriated. The Sudeten Landsmannschaft is now claiming restitution of the property and recognition of the right to homeland.

It was the first thing I did this morning, Klaus told journalists after today's government session. It was a necessary thing that Uhde had made his statement just on German soil, he added.

Uhde told journalists on Tuesday [30 November] that the Sudeten German issue was a topic for talks between private persons, not to be discussed by politicians or parliamentarians.

Zieleniec, Kinkel Cited

AU0112171793 Prague CTK in English 1250 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Rome, Dec 1 (CTK)—German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, when asked about German compensation for Czech victims of Nazism and the Sudeten German problem today, told CTK that the goal of his stay in Rome was not to express his opinion on German-Czech relations.

Kinkel added, however, that the relations were good and that Germany was interested in continued improvement.

On the same topic, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said that before he expressed his stand on the

problem, he had to study the record of talks between Chairman of the German Parliament (Bundestag) Rita Sussmuth and Czech Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde, and to personally talk with Uhde.

On November 30, Uhde met with Sussmuth during his stay in Bonn. Sussmuth called on Czech parliamentarians to begin a dialogue with the German Parliament on compensation for Czech victims of Nazism simultaneously with the Sudeten German problem.

Uhde stressed that the Czech side would agree with only general talks as it considered the Sudeten German question to be closed.

Most Moravians Favor Unified Moravia-Silesia

AU0112201693 Prague CTK in English 1834 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 1 (CTK)—Fifty-nine percent of Moravia's and Silesia's population is for the creation of one Moravian-Silesian land, a poll conducted by the Center of Empirical Researches (STEM) among 7,025 people at the turn of September revealed.

Moravia and Silesia existed until 1949 as one of the three lands (along with Bohemia and Slovakia) which created the basic pillar of the Czechoslovak administrative set-up. In 1961, Moravia and Silesia were divided into two regions (North Moravian and South Moravian) whose boundaries are not in line with the historical Moravian-Bohemian border. In the March 1991 census some 1,400,000 people claimed Moravian or Silesian nationality. Moravia has a total population of about 4,000,000.

Eight percent of those polled favored two separate lands, Moravia plus Silesia, and 25 percent were for another set-up.

A reform of the territorial-administrative set-up of the Czech Republic is now being prepared with the aim to decentralize state power. The Moravians have been pushing for more autonomy within the future arrangement.

The administrative set-up features, however, only tenth in the list of important social problems. The chart is topped by crime, social security and environmental issues.

Baudys: Army Not Seeking Russian Equipment

AU0112210093 Prague CTK in English 1904 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 1 (CTK)—In connection with its planned re-equipment, the Czech Army does not count on any massive buying of Russian or Ukrainian military equipment, Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys told CTK today. The Czech Army will, however, need spare parts from Russia so that its present equipment can continue operation.

As to the Russian-made MiG-29 fighters, which were bought by the Slovak Army and by Hungary as well, every state must decide itself on where it wants to buy military equipment, Baudys stated.

We are not interested in arming ourselves for decades to come by weapons from the countries whose economies are now unstable, Baudys stressed. The MiG-29 are top aircraft, but their fuel consumption is huge and the maintenance demanding, he added.

By the end of 1994, Russia will have supplied Slovakia with weapons worth $180 million, by which it will pay off a part of the debts of the former Soviet Union to the former Czechoslovakia, Russian Deputy Premier Yuri Yarov said at a press conference following a session of the Slovak-Russian intergovernmental commission held in Casta-Papiernicka near Bratislava on Tuesday [30 November].

Prime Minister Outlines Plan for 1994

AU0212080893 Prague CTK in English 2038 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 1 (CTK)—Slovak Premier and Chairman of the movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Vladimir Meciar expects next year to bring about an essential turn in the life of Slovakia.

Speaking at an HZDS rally, Meciar outlined the main task for 1994: To stop economic decline and to start changing life for the better. He stressed the successful start of the independent Slovak Republic. The predictions that in March we will be down on our knees and in April we will be begging have failed to materialize, he stressed.

Meciar said that Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus' starting position was easier in that he simply renamed federal bodies to Republic ones. The independent Slovak and Czech Republics were constituted as of January 1, 1993.

Turning to fight against organized crime, Meciar took issue with Prosecutor General Vojtech Bacho, whom he would like to dismiss. Meciar recalled the scandal with false stamps stuck to the old Czechoslovak 1000-crown banknotes, blaming it on Mafiosos, including high-ranking officials. The struggle against Mafia is difficult especially when you cannot be sure that the Prosecutor General's office will take part in it.

Meciar's onslaught on the deputies headed by former Foreign Minister Milan Knazko, who had left the HZDS and established the Alliance of Democrats, drew loud applause. I really believe that a party which did not take part in elections has nothing to do in parliament, Meciar said.

He also dwelt on media criticism of the government, himself and the HZDS. He stated that he had received a list of 40 journalists suspected of being paid in dollars for anti-government writing. If this is proved, I will make public the names, Meciar warned.

He said journalists were lacking fundamental respect and added that the conduct of the opposition media is breaking the limits of decency and law.

Until the beginning of November, the HZDS formed a minority government in Slovakia. On November 9 President Michal Kovac appointed a new coalition government consisting of the HZDS and the Slovak National Party (SNS). They have an aggregate number of 80 out of a total of 150 seats in parliament.

85 Percent Say Economy Worse Since Independence

AU0112123893 Prague CTK in English 0905 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 30 (CTK)—Today's NARODNA OBRODA carries a survey by the FOCUS research company, according to which 85 percent of Slovaks believe the country's economic situation has worsened since January 1993 (when Slovakia became independent). Only 13 percent consider it to be more or less the same, and a mere two percent think it has improved.

The paper comments on the contrast between this display of skepticism and a similar survey carried out before the 1992 elections, when 41 percent of Slovaks believed that after the elections the fall in living standards would stop. In September 1992 only 33 percent foresaw a worsening of the economic situation, with 26 percent expecting it to get better, and 36 percent foreseeing a bit of both. The overall mood, however, was not pessimistic. Today, the survey shows, those who are most disappointed are supporters of the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] and SNS [Slovak National Party] or those who voted for them.

In the next 12 months, 46 percent of Slovaks expect their financial situation to grow worse. A third (33 percent) expect to be able to maintain their present standard of living, and 23 percent think it will get better.

Defense Ministry's 1994 Budget To Increase

AU0112152793 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 30 (CTK)—Except for the Defense Ministry, no ministry will get from the state budget in 1994 more than this year, Slovak Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Julius Toth told CTK today during a discussion on the draft budget for next year in Casta-Papiernicka near Bratislava. The discussion was attended by the government and the parliamentary groups of the two government coalition partners, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS).

Toth said that the increase in the Defense Ministry's was not to be seen as subsidies to the arms industry. The extra money is intended to fund the relocation of troops following the division of Czechoslovakia last January.

Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak declined to comment on his Ministry's spending, saying the budget had not been approved yet.

The draft budget counts on revenues of 126 billion Slovak Crowns (about $3.8 billion), a deficit of 14 billion Slovak Crowns, a 12 percent rate of inflation, a 17 percent rate of unemployment and zero growth in gross domestic product (GDP). Toth expects this year's GDP to decrease by 3.5 to 4 percent and the budgetary deficit to reach 15.8 billion to 16.2 billion Slovak crowns.

He said he considered the draft budget realistic and in harmony with the demands of the international monetary fund (IMF) the fulfillment of which is a precondition for Slovakia to obtain a stand-by credit from the IMF. The relevant agreement is to be concluded in January.

Earlier today, Premier Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak Radio that individual ministers would get from the state budget about 50 percent of what they had demanded. The government failed last week to approve the budget, nourishing the opposition's fears that in January Slovakia will have only a provisional budget.

The opposition has warned on several occasions that the delay in the preparation of the budget may cause parliament not to be able to approve it at its December session.

Toth told CTK today that the government was expected to approve the final version of the budget on Thursday, following talks between the HZDS and SNS deputies' groups.

Cernak Sets Conditions For SNS Budget Support

AU0112174093 Prague CTK in English 1516 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 1 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party (SNS) will support the draft state budget for 1994 only if greater amounts are earmarked for agriculture, the environment, education and culture, SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak told Slovak Radio today.

We view positively some 60 percent of the submitted document draft budget, Cernak said referring to Tuesday's [30 November] meeting of the government with the deputies' groups of the government coalition parties, the SNS and the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), which focused on the draft budget.

Controversies emerged just over the funding of the above-mentioned spheres, Cernak stated. Agriculture and other areas are in such a state now that they would not survive if their funding was reduced, he added.

Cernak quoted Finance Minister Julius Toth as promising to find means to meet the SNS's demands. According to Toth, the additional five to six billion Slovak crowns ($150-180 million) to be designed for agriculture and education could be drawn from privatization. There is also the possibility to negotiate increasing the budgetary deficit with the international monetary fund (IMF).

Earlier this year, the IMF said it would not grant Slovakia a stand-by credit next year unless its deficit is kept below 16 billion Slovak crowns ($515 million).

The Slovak Government is to discuss the draft budget on Thursday [2 December]. Toth told journalists that the draft budget counted on an income of 124-126 billion crowns (about $3.790 billion), and a deficit of 14 billion crowns ($424 million). The expected inflation rate is 12 percent. The budget envisages a 17 percent unemployment rate and a zero growth in gross domestic product.

Paper Accuses SNS of Destabilizing Coalition

AU0112123593 Prague CTK in English 0856 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 30 (CTK)— The pro-government paper REPUBLIKA comments today that at a time when the government should be presenting its new coalition manifesto, and accelerating the transformation of society, the Slovak National Party (SNS) seems to be wanting to play a confrontation game.

The paper upbraids the SNS leadership for not getting rid of its schizophrenia, even at Saturday's [27 November] meeting of the SNS Central Council in Martin, and says that some of its members, under the cloak of coalition partnership, want to bless and legalize tendencies which draw the government away from the center. Its goal is to act as a destabilizing factor on the Slovak political scene, REPUBLIKA believes, giving as an example the blowing up of the confrontation between President Michal Kovac and the government, and its disagreement with the dismissal of Prosecutor General Vojtech Bacho, which the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) deputies' club intends to initiate in parliament.

Nonetheless, REPUBLIKA expresses the hope that despite the individual and group interests in the SNS, the HZDS-SNS coalition will have a long life, and both partners will finally begin to uphold the coalition agreements.

The trade union paper PRACA believes that SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak on Saturday won one of the biggest battles of his political career. In the face of great opposition he managed to defend his deputy chairman Igor Uhrik, to trump Vladimir Miskovsky, who does not have Cernak's usual support, and to elegantly get rid of another deputy chairman, Petr Sokol.

However, it remains to be seen whether a battle won is also a war won, PRACA says. The outcome of the Martin meeting now forces Cernak to finish the work he has started in his party, and it looks as if in the end an extraordinary congress of the SNS will have to be called.

HZDS Deputies Club Leadership Defends Party

AU0112171993 Prague CTK in English 1328 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 1 (CTK)—Tibor Cabaj, the new chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Deputies' Club, denied allegations today that HZDS deputies had signed a pledge not to provide information about internal party relations. This was alleged to have occurred at the joint meeting of HZDS deputies with government members in Plachtince, central Slovakia, on November 26.

Cabaj said that the resignations of the former leadership of the deputies' club was no scandal. All elements of the

governing movement had done an annual evaluation, the goal of which was to best prepare for the republic-wide congress, he said.

Former club chairman Ivan Laluha had not been "written off," he said, adding: "No one has a certain post beforehand, and elections for deputies' club leadership will take place every six months."

HZDS Deputy and economic expert Hvezdon Koctuch said that the budget for next year was ready. He added that he did not see any problem in the fact that the budget had a deficit, as even Germany, the "locomotive of the European Community," had a deficit budget. According to him, Slovakia's economic priorities for next year are halting the fall of the economy, lighting the fire of transformation and not exceeding its social feasibility.

Despite the current difficult economic situation, Koctuch said he saw the benefit of the independent Slovakia in freedom and sovereignty. "Often decisions were made about us without us. For 74 years Slovakia was in the service of the federation," he said.

HZDS Terminates Independent Group's Membership

AU0112213293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Nov 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Out of the Movement"]

[Text] Bratislava—At its meeting in Bratislava yesterday, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Political Board was briefed on the point of view adopted by the Republican Arbitration Commission, which states, among other things, that membership in this movement is incompatible with concurrent membership in other political parties or movements. The same also applies to activity and campaigning on behalf of other political parties. Article 3, paragraphs 1, 2, and 3, refer to the termination of membership, the annulment of membership, or resignation from the HZDS. Deputies M. Knazko and V. Danielova have terminated their membership of the HZDS. Some other former members of the HZDS Deputies' Club in the National Council of the Slovak Republic have declared publicly and in the press that they are resigning from the Deputies' Club, but have not annulled their membership of the HZDS or resigned from the movement. In accordance with Article 23, paragraphs 1 and 2, letter d, the membership in the HZDS of Deputies P. Homola, I. Korbel, M. Ondrejovicova, E. Bartosova, and I. Pribula—who did not resign from the movement—has been annulled.

Restrictions on Payments Abroad Abolished

AU0212080493 Prague CTK in English 1948 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 1 (CTK)—Restrictions on payments were abolished in Slovakia as of today and commercial banks again have access to foreign currency fixing, National Bank of Slovakia Vice-Governor Marian Tkac told CTK today. This means that all commercial banks can buy foreign currencies and there will be no limitations on foreign payments.

We have thus reached the level we were at before the currency separation on February 8, Tkac said, referring to the change following the split of the former Czechoslovakia.

The abolition of restrictions was made possible by a stable situation in the development of foreign currency reserves. However, I cannot claim they are increasing, Tkac added. Inflation in Slovakia this year reached 21 percent at the end of September. The rate could thus add up to 25-27 percent at the end of the year.

Tkac admitted that the inflation was creating pressures for devaluation. I do not know how the situation will look in ten or twelve months but Slovakia is not threatened by devaluation this year, Tkac concluded.

Hungarian Leader Denies Emigration Trends

AU0112173693 Prague CTK in English 1520 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, Dec 1 (CTK)—Chairman of the Union of Slovaks in Hungary Michal Matta denied today in public that he would have spoken about emigration trends allegedly spreading among Slovaks in Hungary during his Tuesday [30 November] visit to Bratislava. This was reported by major Slovak dailies today.

Asked by Budapest Radio, Matta stated that he had been speaking with Slovak journalists on emigration tendencies and Hungarian-Slovak exchange of population after World War Two. In his view, the exchange basically impaired the Slovak ethnic minority in Hungary, contributed to the decrease in its number and to the weakened national awareness of Hungarian Slovaks. Matta noted that his words had been evidently misunderstood and misinterpreted by Slovak journalists.

The Hungarian-Slovak exchange of population was carried out after World War Two, after the then Czechoslovak Government had not managed to push through the plan to expel Slovak Hungarians from Czechoslovakia.

According to the 1990 census, some 12,000 ethnic Slovaks live in Hungary, mainly in the southeast of the country. Some unofficial estimates claim, however, that they number as much as 100,000.

Russia Puts Off Talks on Payment Mechanism

AU0112152993 Prague CTK in English 2126 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 30 (CTK)—The Czech [as received]-Russian intergovernmental commission today failed to reach an agreement on the mechanism of mutual accounting and payments in bilateral Czech-Russian trade.

The head of the Russian delegation, Deputy Premier Yuri Yarov, told Slovak Radio that such a mechanism did not exist and it was not easy to work it out. However, it would be very useful for Russia's contacts with other countries as well. Russia and Slovakia could jointly find a solution, Yarov stated.

We are discussing capitalization of the market without having set the mechanism of mutual payments in national currencies. We must seek ways of using the experience of other countries we cooperate with, Yarov said.

Slovak Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Julius Toth told CTK that the Slovak and Russian finance ministers would meet in December to discuss the issue.

Anna Jostiakova, Slovak Finance Ministry's senior official, told the radio that the conclusion of a Slovak-Russian agreement on prevention of double taxation would be prepared by the end of June 1994.

She said that it had been agreed at today's meeting held in Casta-Papiernicka near Bratislava that by December 7, Slovakia would submit a project to repay the debts owed by Russia and the former Soviet Union to Slovakia. Russia will express its position on the project by the end of 1993. In January, the project is to be discussed by experts, Jostiakova said.

The overall debt of the former Soviet Union, which has been taken over by the Russian Federation, amounts to some $1.5 billion. Under a protocol signed at today's meeting, $180 million will be paid off in the form of Russian supplies of military equipment.

Most Federal Money No Longer Legal Tender

LD0112235293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Excerpts] As from today, with the exception of the stamped 500-crown bank note and the 10-heller coin, federal money is no longer valid in the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The old stamped 500-crown notes will lose their validity on 10 January and the deadline for their exchange is the end of March next year. The 10-heller coin will be valid till 31 December of this year and the deadline for its exchange is the end of February next year.

Jeszenszky Cited on Romanian Territorial Claims

LD0112173993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As of next year, Hungary will chair the CSCE. Istvan Kulcsar reports from the CSCE's meeting in Rome.

[Kulcsar] [passage omitted] It is already practically certain that as of the end of next year, Hungary will chair the CSCE. Talking to Hungarian journalists, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky assessed this as a sign of acknowledgement of Hungarian foreign policy.

The Hungarian foreign minister also said that he met his Romanian counterpart twice—yesterday and today. Teodor Melescanu said in regard to a speech in the Romanian Parliament yesterday about Great Romania spreading from the River Dniester to the River Tisza, that it this was not directed against Hungary. It is not a claim for the Tiszantul [area between the River Tisza and the eastern borders of Hungary]. Melescanu stressed that the Romanian Government did not put on the agenda the establishment of any kind of Great Romania, Jeszenszky told Hungarian correspondents.

Head of Slovaks in Hungary Denies Statement

LD0112151693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Slovak papers claim that the Slovaks living in Hungary fear deportation. However, Mihaly Matta, acting chairman of the Union of Slovaks in Hungary, denies that during a visit to Pozsony [Bratislava] he spoke about some alleged fear of deportation spreading among the Slovaks in Hungary. Several Slovak papers, including REPUBLIKA, wrote that Hungarian Slovak representatives gave this statement following their meeting with Ivan Gasparovic, speaker of the Slovak parliament. Mihaly Matta told our news editorial that he was in fact speaking to the press about the 1946-47 population exchange agreement which facilitated the assimilation of the Hungarian Slovaks.

FIDESZ Official on Liberal World Conference

AU3011201093 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 93 p 9

[Interview with Jozsef Szajer, head of the Foreign Affairs Cabinet of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Imre Bednarik; place and date not given: "Jozsef Szajer Speaks About the Experiences of the Liberal World Conference"]

[Text] [Bednarik] The parties of the Liberal Internationale support Hungary and the other Central-Eastern European countries in their efforts to join the European Union and NATO. This was said at the Liberal World Conference held in Budapest over the weekend. As the head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], in your opinion, what road must Hungary take in order to become an organic part of Europe?

[Szajer] This road proves to be more difficult now than we originally thought at the time of the change in our regime. Then, we thought that Hungary's integration into Europe could take place in a very short time. Given the fact that we do not have a chance of a quick integration, we must approach Europe in every possible direction, for example through the liberal parties, because European integration, or membership in the European Union and NATO is actually based on good relations between the parties. This is why we regard it as a considerable achievement that the Executive Committee of the Liberal International (IL) made a decision in favor of our integration.

[Bednarik] Our Western guests did not argue about the fact that, since the changes, Western Europe has done less for the integration of the Central-Eastern European region than the former socialist countries counted on after the encouraging words of the West.

[Szajer] Yes, they expressed this very firmly. The delegate of the German Free Democratic Party [FDP] said that the West should do more. At the conference, I also dealt with the fact that, in addition to accepting us as full members once, the West should do a lot until then to enable the emergence of forms in which our joining is least painful. For example, the liberal parties are encouraging the creation of an all-European infrastructural network that would not only apply to the full members of the Union. It was announced in Copenhagen that they regard Hungary as a prospective member and, as a result, the investments coming into Hungary are already investments of the European Union.

[Bednarik] The conference placed great emphasis on the national minority problem. It also said that the national minority issue is a security policy issue.

[Szajer] This idea was strongly emphasized in the speeches. This also made it possible for the Hungarian national minority organizations abroad, organizations that are not IL members, to receive invitations. Bela Marko, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] expressed his great appreciation for the invitation and for the fact that the FIDESZ used all its influence within the IL to guarantee the rights of the national minorities. If the liberals were thinking in an orthodox way, only individual rights would receive priority. This is not so, and it is also the message of the world conference that the liberals clearly take upon themselves to implement the national minority rights.

[Bednarik] FIDESZ Chairman Viktor Orban said that the success of the world conference could give an impetus to the liberal parties in Hungary for next year's elections.

[Szajer] This can be a moral support, in the sense that the leaders of 70 liberal parties came to Budapest, exchanged their views and learned about Hungary's main problems, and agreed with our efforts. With such a background, we can also face next year's elections with greater confidence.

Christian Democrats' Election Program Examined

AU3011210793 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Nov 93 p 7

[Unattributed editorial: "Christian Democratic Promises"]

[Text] The illustrious party is preparing to win the elections and it would like a bigger share of responsibility.

The Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] is an illustrious party because it is the only party among the six parties whose name is made up of words that even the most vicious extremists refrain from using as a curse. Christian, democratic, and people are all immaculate concepts. This party's policy, however, is far from being so immaculate; nor is its coalition role or election program so immaculate. It is definitely a positive thing that, among all the parties, the KDNP is the first to come up with a prepared election program, a program they hope would become a government program. We do not yet know the final text, but it has already become clear from the declarations and articles made public that the Christian democrats have great plans. They are promising a new tax system from 1995, as well as a new Constitution and direct presidential elections. They would provide income tax benefits, reduce the value added tax, make possible family taxation, protect our domestic industry, support our agriculture with a rational credit policy, and increase the support for the export of agricultural products. They want to achieve all this by simultaneously reducing the withdrawal of funds by the state and the state administration expenses. They do not promise a land of milk and honey; they only promise a state administration and economic policy by which it is possible to increase the production of milk and honey. Therefore, this program cannot be accused of demagogy, because it also contains a negative point, namely the property tax, but this also appears as a means of a more fair distribution of burdens.

With its radical changes, the KDNP program is like one submitted by an opposition party, although the KDNP has been in power. It is customary to promise a new tax system, a new economic policy, and a new social policy if the old ones were bad. But they were not bad, because, instead of critical analyses of the past three and a half years, the KDNP interpretation has been focusing on considerable results: the emergence of a social market economy, a halt in the increase of unemployment, the prevention of a large-scale inflation, and an unparalleled infrastructural development.

It is not easy to solve the contradiction of "things go well but should nevertheless be changed radically." However, if the voters interpret all this as that we have been doing things well so far and we will do things even better in the future, then the program-speech has achieved its goal. Then one can also evaluate the critical statements, namely that the party, and especially its parliamentary group, adjusted too much to the large coalition partner in the past three and a half years, sometimes even giving up its principles. This is both self-criticism and avoidance of responsibility in a single well-expressed sentence.

At the same time, among the coalition parties, the KDNP definitely survived the years of government in the best shape. It stayed in the background all the time, and it did not cause major damage to this country; however, its profit is also meager. The party did not have major scandals or many negative things. This makes them confident now. However, it is still rather questionable whether all this is enough for victory.

Democratic Forum Leader on Party Renewal

AU0112094193 Budapest MTI in English 2054 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 30 November (MTI)—Hungary's Democratic Forum can renew itself, and a growing number of people in Hungary understand what the burden of changing the system meant, MDF Managing President Sandor Lezsak told a party forum in Budapest on Tuesday [30 November]. In his view, a new political atmosphere is giving the MDF hopes of success in the 1994 elections.

Lezsak said he knew how unpopular the government, Parliament, the MDF, and politics in general were, and that the results of political change had disappointed people. One reason was, he said, that the government had faced a slander campaign from its first day in office.

At the same time, he said those with reasonable outlooks could see what considerable developments the country had undergone. Lezsak hoped that, after the 1994 elections, there would be partners on the political scene, as well as the Christian democrats, with whom the MDF can form a coalition.

Socialist Party: 1993 'Black Year' for Economy

AU0112105393 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Nov 93 p 4

[Pal Szombathy report: "Gyula Horn Leads the Budapest List—Bekesi: 1993 Will Be a Black Year for the Economy"]

[Text] The majority of society wants to replace the current government but the government does not seem willing to realize this; it is deaf and blind to the signals coming from society, and it would like people to remain silent. Citizens are increasingly worried about an authoritarian changeover that could result in a postponement

of the 1994 elections, Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] stated at the MSZP's national party conference on 28 November. The MSZP's parliamentary candidates and the delegates for the February 1994 congress participated in the meeting.

Horn expounded in his speech that the party needs to present its views clearly because the country is resounding with those who attack the MSZP.

Horn said that it was not their goal to destroy any political parties, but the government, which has for years been unsettling political life through its political hysteria, has to go. He said that corruption had always existed but never to the extent and with the expertise of the present time. In Horn's view, the coalition wants to take over the media so that the government's performance over the past four years and its programs will not be the issue of the campaign. He stated that millions of people are refusing to rewrite their curriculum vitae for the sake of those who do not have any moral basis for appearing as the ones who can call others to account, and Horn refuted accusations that the MSZP would be a danger to anything or anyone. "Can the party be left on its own in case of victory if the majority of society supports it?" he asked. He also indicated that instead of camarilla agreements they are promising a clear, open, and controllable state. The MSZP respects legally acquired property rights but it cannot accept corrupt goods received in return for loyalty to the party. He also indicated that, if they come to power, cooperation with the various trade unions will have its problems as well as its advantages. However, social peace demands coordination of interests. Horn thanked [President] Arpad Goncz for his calm politics. He added that the MSZP is suggesting stronger authority for the president, direct presidential elections, and ministerial responsibility. Talking about the party's internal affairs, Horn said he expects that attempts will also be made in the future to show irreconcilable antagonism within the MSZP. He emphasized that, as chairman, he has to integrate the differences of views. "I have also made mistakes, sometimes more than one: For example, it would have been good to discuss our advertisement in August with some experts." (MAGYAR HIRLAP and NEPSZABADSAG published a full page advertisement for the party in August 1993, which was later described by many politicians as an irresponsible list of promises. Editor's note.) "I have learned my lessons," he said, indicating that the economic program made by Laszlo Bekesi has been completed. "I was seriously thinking whether I might be a burden to the party because of the increasing attacks. This is why I intended to raise the question of confidence. Since this was made public, I have had such wide support that I have given up this idea," Horn said. He finally said that they would not name their prime ministerial candidate because they prefer a different order: They will be selecting the people for the jobs.

Sandor Nagy, chairman of the National Federation of Trade Unions in Hungary [MSZOSZ], said that they have to remain objective and refrain from demagogy. Because they rejected coordination of interests, employees needlessly paid a higher price in the transformation. He indicated that the Federal Council of the MSZOSZ would make a decision of principle on the attitude that the trade unions are to take during the elections. The MSZOSZ wishes to participate in enlightening and mobilizing activities while encouraging the concrete cooperation of the various platforms in the elections, but they do not actually want to interfere in the party programs.

Parliamentary deputy Laszlo Bekesi said that the majority of society is also expecting a changeover in the economy. 1993 has been a black year for the Hungarian economy, he said, adding that he does not yet know precisely what burdens the new government will have, therefore, a precise list will have to be made. With the help of a correct economic policy, the country can get over the worst by 1995. The most important goal is to avoid falling completely behind, so, however painful it is, we have to give up raising the living standard in the short term. Bekesi confirmed that the MSZP is not building on nostalgia and there is a complete affinity between its economic and political programs, which has a social- liberal content. He said that his debate with Horn in August was not of a political nature and agreement was achieved on a basis of principles.

Matyas Lajos Szabo, chairman of the Budapest Socialists, announced at the meeting that they had asked Horn to lead the party's Budapest list.

Gabcikovo Dam Experts Meet in Bratislava

AU0212111993 Budapest MTI in English 0953 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 2 Dec (MTI)—The group of Gabcikovo dam experts issued the following communique from its 3rd bratislava meeting, held from November 28 to December 1.

"The discussion about the Gabcikovo system of locks continue. As a follow-up to the 'special agreement for submission to the International Court of Justice of the differences between the Republic of Hungary and the Slovak Republic concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project,' a temporary water management regime has to be implemented.

"In order to provide reliable and undisputed data on the most important effects of the current water discharge and the remedial measures already undertaken, as well as to make recommendations for appropriate measures, a group of monitoring and water management experts for the Gabcikovo system of locks (group of experts) was established by the Republic of Hungary, the Slovak Republic and the Commission of the European Communities (CEC). It consists of one expert appointed by Hungary, one expert appointed by Slovakia and three independent experts (from Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark) appointed by the CEC. The members of the working group have expertise in hydrology, ecology and water-based construction.

"At the first meeting in Bratislava on September 8-9, the group of experts agreed on the data to be collected and on the methodology for the data analyses. The data collection concentrated on discharges, surface water levels and quality, flora and fauna, agriculture, forestry and electricity production from the period 1991-93. Data from the 1950s and 1960s were also analyzed as a basis for assessing the impacts of the Gabcikovo project. All members of the working group have agreed to exchange all relevant data.

"On this basis, the group of experts have now prepared two reports. The first report, completed on 2 November 1993, comprised assessments of the impacts of the Gabcikovo project and recommendations for strengthening the monitoring system in the area.

"The second and final report, completed on 1 December 1993, comprises recommendations for the governments for a temporary water management regime, as well as for necessary discharges, water levels and remedial measures to be taken."

Russian Security Minister Discusses Cooperation

WS0212122393 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Z.L.: "Secret Services Reach an Agreement"]

[Text] "I would be cautious in making any statements that would imply that there is certainly a Russian Mafia in Poland. There are minor international criminal groups which we are trying to control as much as possible," said Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski at a press conference on Wednesday [1 December]. "On the basis of the information we have, we cannot say that a Polish Mafia is operating in Russia," said General Colonel Nikolay Golushko, security minister of the Russian Federation, who had been on a three-day visit to the Polish Republic.

According to both ministers, there are enough serious dangers anyway. This year, Russian special services thwarted the attempt to smuggle a large quantity of fissionable material from Kaliningrad Oblast. The route of the contraband was supposed to go through Poland.

The smuggled materials that were intercepted by the Russians were worth over 300 million rubles. However, Minister Golushko did not conceal the fact that it was merely one-tenth of contraband at the southern border of Kaliningrad Oblast. "We suppose that we manage to intercept a similar portion of the smuggled drugs," he added. Right now the Russian special services are recreating the route through which 2 tons of drugs reached Terespol without any troubles. "Revealing this shipment was possible exclusively thanks to you," admitted the head of the Russian Security Ministry.

He added that by coming to Poland, he wanted to make another step to remove the residue of the past from the contacts between the countries. It was also his desire that the people who are responsible for concrete services in their countries meet personally and start cooperation.

It was agreed that because of the growing dangers, Polish and Russian special services will cooperate closer to combat organized crime and the smuggling of stolen automobiles, arms, drugs, and alcohol. They will also broaden cooperation to improve the situation at border crossing sites. To achieve this goal, on 1 December a special protocol was signed and added to the agreement on inter-ministerial cooperation, which was concluded last year. This protocol will soon enable the services protecting our borders and the Kaliningrad services to forge direct bilateral contacts. "The talks were held in a very good atmosphere and we tackled many concrete issues," Milczanowski stressed several times. The head of the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs expects that certain agreements, which were not fully revealed on Wednesday, will soon yield concrete results in the area of combating international crime.

The Russian minister was also received by President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, and Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy.

Organized Crime Agreement Signed

LD0112160093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] The Polish and Russian security services have signed a cooperation agreement.

[Correspondent Stanislaw Prygon] The main objective of the agreement, which has just been signed, is combating organized crime by eliminating smuggling and trading in arms, and drug dealing. Another aim is cooperation in order to facilitate border traffic between Kaliningrad oblast and Gdansk, Elblag, Olsztyn, and Suwalki provinces.

Lieutenant General Nikolay Golushko, head of the Russian security ministry, said that the agreement signed today has nothing in common with the paternalistic relations of the not so distant past. It is an agreement between two equal partners.

Andrzej Milczanowski, minister of internal affairs, pointed out that cooperation between the ministries and police services of Russia and Poland already had certain traditions. Poland is on a transit route from East to West for smuggling electronic equipment, cigarettes, cars, and, unfortunately, people. This is against vital economic interests of both Poland and Russia. The losses caused by it amount to many millions of millions zloties.

Austria To Support Polish Efforts to Join EU

AU0212112193 Warsaw PAP in English 1305 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 1—Wolfgang Schallenberg, secretary general at the Austrian Foreign Ministry, said that Austria's membership of the European Union lies in the interest of Poland. Schallenberg, ending a working visit to Warsaw, said that if Austria becomes a member of the EU, it would support in EU bodies Poland's efforts to join the Union.

He said Austria hopes it would join the European Union in 1995 together with Finland, Sweden and Norway. "We are of the opinion that in the next stage, the Union should be joined by the states of the Visegrad group after they meet the economic conditions."

Poland and Austria are of the opinion that there is a need for the setting up of an efficient security system. Each of our countries is following a different path but this is a joint goal. Poland is trying to become a NATO member; Austria, a neutral state, hopes to receive a status of an observer of the Western European Union, the Austrian diplomat said.

Schallenberg, who held talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Iwo Byczewski, stressed the importance of political

contacts with Poland, adding that he welcomed the fact that the new Polish Government bases its foreign policy on elements of continuation.

Pawlak Approves of EC's Agricultural Policy

AU0212124593 Poznan WPROST in Polish 28 Nov 93 pp 13, 14

[Interview with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak by Krzysztof Golata, Dobrochna Kedzierska, and Marek Krol; place and date not given: "A Government of Equilibrium"]

[Text] [WPROST] Is the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] a left-wing party?

[Pawlak] Before the war it was accused of siding with the left, and later it was criticized for courting the right. After the war, in Poland the PSL was recognized as an extreme right-wing party. But at the same time, in London it was classified as a left- wing party. The moral of all this is that if we have to classify the PSL at all, then we should classify it as a center party. In any case, I think that from a sociological point of view it might be important to attach ideological labels to parties, but such labels have not much in common with everyday life. A party's political countenance is determined by its policies, and not by the labels people attach to it.

[WPROST] But most people think it is because of you that the PSL has become a significant part of the Polish political scene.

[Pawlak] In politics, not even the best ideas have a chance of success if they are put forward at the wrong time. The PSL's present status is the result of the democratization of political life, and not just the result of the capabilities of a few politicians. I am fortunate to live at a time when Poland needs a peasant movement and the PSL is able to contribute toward a stabilization of the entire political setup.

[WPROST] Even the opposition admits that we have a stable government at last.

[Pawlak] That is the handiwork of not just the PSL, but also the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], which draws on rich old traditions just as the PSL does.

[WPROST] The coalition won the elections by using the slogans "Poland needs a good host" and "Things cannot go on like this." But the government's first decisions provide no indication of whether it intends to continue the economic policies pursued so far, or whether it intends to open a new stage in a free-market economy.

[Pawlak] The meaning of continuation might have been oversimplified. We are continuing the path of change, but not necessarily in every single task. We are also altering some of the methods. In any case, it does not matter to people whether we have a continuation of the old policy or a brand new policy. What matters is effective work by the government and parliament, work that brings results. It is these results that should spell out the difference between the "old" and "new" governments.

[WPROST] Opinion polls suggest that farmers, rural inhabitants, and workers are the people most anxious for an improvement to the economic situation. Yet these people are not the driving force of a market economy.

[Pawlak] That is a rash opinion. There is no automatic relationship between the intentions of a given milieu and its de facto function in the economy. An improvement to the material situation of the poorest people, brought about at the right time, creates a demand for commodities provided by enterprising people, and Polish farming needs better conditions today for the sake of the entire national economy. The entire European Union has been established on the basis of a sensible joint agricultural policy. For many years, Japan subsidized its own farming. The United States also looks after its farmers. If the Polish Government had pursued a different agricultural policy two years ago, we would not be importing meat and grain today. For the first time since the war, Poland is importing staple food! We cannot export meat to the European Community because we do not have enough for ourselves. In 1992 we spend hundreds of millions of dollars on grain imports. We did not spend it on investment. Are we so rich that we can afford to subsidize Western farmers?

[WPROST] The countries that you mention attach great importance to a strengthening of the middle class, which is the driving force behind economic progress. And yet the latest government proposals to raise income tax have been criticized by the middle class.

[Pawlak] There has been a lot of misunderstanding about this. First of all, we want to apply VAT to as many businesses as possible (those that are not paying it now but should be doing so). We do not want to impose higher VAT on those who are paying it already. Second, we are introducing a zero income tax rate on the lowest incomes. The top rate of income tax applies to those earning in excess of 180 million zlotys [$180,000] per year. Those are high incomes for Poland. Third, we are introducing tax concessions on investment.

[WPROST] Will the abolition of the tax on supernumerary wages boost inflation?

[Pawlak] The Sejm is examining this very issue.

[WPROST] The directors of enterprises continue to be victimized by the trade unions, who force them to grant wage increases by threatening strikes. And yet the blame for the effects of this could fall on the government.

[Pawlak] Such a danger exists, but I think that apart from the trade unions, founding committees of enterprises also have a say inside the enterprises. In any case, the work forces have already learned a few things. It seems to me that employees know the financial condition of their enterprise and know what the factory can afford and

what the danger of unemployment is. After all, many enterprises have survived the harsh policies of previous governments.

[WPROST] Your opponents claim that your government will take advantage of the effects of the harsh policies of its predecessors, without accepting responsibility for the social dissatisfaction caused by the costs of the reforms.

[Pawlak] Anyone would think that either the reforms have been completed or human nature has changed. Everyone knows that it would be far easier to run the economy if we had a foreign trade surplus. But we do not have one. We started off with a 13-billion-zloty deficit. However, people are not interested in the conditions in which the new government is commencing its work. Poles expect us to solve problems, not complain about the bad conditions we have inherited.

[WPROST] President Lech Walesa claims that the Suchocka government left the economy in a good state.

[Pawlak] I told the president that we will make sure every Polish household feels that the economy is in a "good" state.

[WPROST] President Walesa also said that he is your friend and that he feels sorry for you.

[Pawlak] He seems to know what the tasks of the government are.

[WPROST] And are you also his friend?

[Pawlak] He has many friends.

[WPROST] The Polish electorate is demanding greater spending on social objectives, but the IMF expects greater outlay on investment. Can one reconcile these two expectations?

[Pawlak] Yes, by treating spending on social objectives as a way of increasing demand for the products of our investors. The point is to establish the right proportions and coordinate individual tasks.

[WPROST] You have become prime minister at a time when the pension system, health service, and social security are all financed out of the budget. Will it be possible to introduce healthy market principles to these spheres during your four-year term of office?

[Pawlak] That is our aim.

[WPROST] To what extent are your hands tied by the coalition agreement?

[Pawlak] That is an odd question. This is quite simply a coalition government. The most important decisions have to be taken jointly.

[WPROST] You keep saying that the PSL is not a class party. Are you trying to convert it into a Christian Democratic party with the help of the church?

[Pawlak] You started the interview with an accusation that the PSL is left-wing, and you are ending it with the suggestion that it is becoming Christian Democratic. This proves that one can restore the balance during the course of a single interview.

UOP Chief: No Law Violated in IRA Operation

WS0212114893 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Dec 93 pp 1, 11

[Report by Anna Marszalek: "UOP Chief Gromoslaw Czempinski: Special Services Violated No Law"]

[Text] **"The view that intelligence and counterintelligence services act in an amateur fashion is much to our liking since it weakens vigilance by criminal organizations and by foreign intelligence services; but we cannot allow for society to think that we violate any legal provisions in our actions."**

"With regard to the 'container affair,' measures taken by us were a case of masterpiece work and we violated no law along the way," said Gromoslaw Czempinski, new chief of the Office of State Protection [UOP] who had a meeting with journalists on the first day of his official duties. "I submitted information on that to Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz who is the justice minister and attorney general. If the authority of Prime Minister Pawlak, of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister Cimoszewicz, and of Minister Milczanowski is not enough to confirm what I am saying, if an investigation is initiated by the public prosecutor's office, or if a Sejm commission is established to investigate the case, then I will resign. If the truth were to become public, there could be several dead bodies on both sides. Over the period from January to November of this year, the Ulster Volunteer Forces caused the death of 14 people."

When asked about the goal of the sting operation, Colonel Czempinski explained that it was designed to deter potential illegal arms buyers and also to change the false view that it is possible to smuggle arms out of Poland.

Intelligence services around the world routinely act as a shield for domestic industries—that aspect is particularly important to Poland because even though we have excellent weapons (for instance the best "kalashnikov" guns), they tend to be more expensive than in other countries.

Special services the world over avail themselves of many unconventional methods of operation, and they do it in secret—otherwise they would be inefficient. One of their goals is also to provide support to the foreign policy of a country; all prime ministers make use of their services. It used to happen on occasions, that a spectacular operation by UOP would ultimately turn against it. And one cannot even make the slightest mention with regard to the majority of successful measures during an interview,

but unfortunately it used to happen in the past they they would be revealed nevertheless due to some private interests involved.

"Our first missions were entrusted to us as early as after the first month of UOP's operation," Colonel Czempinski says. "But it is not a secret that during 1990, the intelligence services lost 600 people due to verification policies, and oftentimes they were very good experts. The number of agents stationed abroad was reduced from 200 to 28. That kind of a blow would not be meaningless to any intelligence service in any country. We keep training new recruits, but it takes as long as five to seven years to rebuild a counterintelligence service, whereas in the case of intelligence services the period is at least 10 years."

Colonel Czempinski also stated that there is no intelligence service currently with which Polish special services would not cooperate. In his view, the fact that Poland is free of terrorism should be attributed precisely to the intelligence services and their supervision of the Polish infrastructure.

"We have always paid particular attention to illegal arms trade," Colonel Czempinski added. "We found out about the arrest of Poles in the rifle affair, an hour after it happened. Also in this last case, we were immediately notified when a new offer was made. But when we began checking up, it turned out that all the trails lead to nowhere. It took a long time before we could finally pinpoint Great Britain. We did not succeed in achieving the planned final outcome but—as the British have told us—the container could really just have gotten lost in a harbor known for corrupt practices."

The UOP chief explained that it was the terrorists involved that paid for the entire operation. He refused to give figures on what kind of money UOP made on it (the weapons' price was estimated at 250,000 pounds), but they will certainly settle accounts with the Finance Ministry—monies gained this way are usually spent on purchasing equipment.

Colonel Czempinski also explained that he is not willing to publicly reveal his face for the moment, since he used to actively work until quite recently. His specialty was combatting counterintelligence, and even though a "cleansing" of him has been going on for a year, it is still too soon to publicly reveal his face. He also said his cooperation with [previous UOP chief] Professor Konieczny was good. He even preferred to be placed on second-line positions, in the background.

Sejm Speaker: Constitution Limits Free Speech

AU0112123793 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 30—Sejm (lower house) speaker Jozef Oleksy called for urgent revision of parts of the Polish constitution in order to ensure it complied with the European convention on human rights in relation to freedom of speech.

Stanislaw Wilenski, press spokesman for Polish ombudsman Professor Tadeusz Zielinski, said that Oleksy had written to the ombudsman agreeing that there was an urgent need to work out changes to the article of the Polish constitution which makes public denigration of the Polish authorities a criminal offence, in such a way as to ensure freedom of speech in just criticism of the state authorities, while guarding against the abuse of that freedom. Oleksy added that he hoped the new Sejm would undertake measures to redress the current situation in revisions of the criminal code.

Oleksy was responding to a letter from Professor Zielinski dated November 10, in which the ombudsman had asked what measures were planned to ensure Poland complied with its international obligations regarding freedom of expression. In his letter, Zielinski had drawn attention to a report from the international Helsinki federation, which had criticised Poland's existing laws in this regard as an infringement of free speech.

Article 270 of the current Polish constitution permits prison sentences of up to 8 years for persons "publicly insulting or denigrating the polish nation, the republic of Poland, its political system and its high state authorities."

UD Leader on 'Areas of Conflict' With Government

LD0212113693 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] According to Democratic Union [UD] leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki, speaking on Radio Zet, it is still too early to assess the current government.

The union points to two areas of conflict with the present coalition. The first concerns self-government issues, which UD is treating very seriously because a model of the state is involved. In Mazowiecki's view, the question has to be answered as to whether we are aiming at decentralization and at stimulating local initiatives. A number of decisions and attitudes of the present government, as well as its actions, are being evaluated very critically, Mazowiecki said.

The second area has been linked with pre-election promises by the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party. The opposition has the right to demand from the ruling coalition an admission to the electorate and the entire public that accusations against previous governments for allegedly not wanting to give more to the people although it was possible were wrong. If one comes to the conclusion that it was not possible, it has to be explained honestly, Mazowiecki said.

Iliescu Addresses National Day Rally

AU0112141293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0945 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Speech by Romanian President Ion Iliescu at the Alba Iulia "national rally" devoted to the 75th anniversary of the 1918 Great Union and Romania's National Day on 1 December—live]

[Excerpts] Honored audience, esteemed fellow citizens, and Romanian brothers from everywhere:

We are here today, in Alba Iulia, because at this anniversary moment of our national unity, it is only fitting that we should jointly celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Great Union and Romania's National Day. Three-quarters of a century ago, here, in this Transylvanian citadel, with so much emotional loading for us all, our forefathers sanctioned the achievement of one of our dearest and most ardent ideals—the unification of all Romanians in their rightful boundaries, which was the culmination of the process of creating the unitary national state. [passage omitted]

However, 20 years later, international circumstances once again turned unfavorable for us. In a Europe shaken by geopolitical earthquakes and torn apart by expansionist passions, Romania's unity was submitted to direct aggression. Isolated internationally and confronted with the danger of disappearing as a state, Romania was subjected to imperialist arbitrage and, in the tragic summer of 1940, suffered serious territorial amputations. The history of the entire Romanian nation at that time and later on was seriously affected by the brutal effects of the Soviet ultimatum and the Vienna Diktat. Unfortunately, this (?drama) of the Romanian nation has not yet been fully resolved. [passage omitted]

Sometimes, even for such occasions of celebration as the Alba Iulia, there are people who will come up with all sorts of pretexts to hide their lack of desire for cooperation. As far as we are concerned, we will strive with calm and patience to find ways and means to bring about reconciliation and recovery, by appealing to the will and reason of all political and social forces and to all the country's citizens. We know that there are still many difficulties to overcome and that the transition is costly and demands a lot of sacrifices. However, the difficulties we are confronted with should not be exacerbated by actions and initiatives that run counter to the national interest and should not be used for gaining political capital.

After December 1989, Romania has rebuilt its international relations and developed bridges to the developed countries and to the democratic bodies and forms of cooperation among the states of the continent and the world. There were many initiatives—moments of true consensus at home—that facilitated Romania's integration in the Council of Europe, the association to the European Community, the establishment of relations of partnership with the NATO countries, and the regaining of the most-favored-nation status in the relations with the United States. The key advantage we enjoyed in all these actions was our internal stability, which we managed to secure despite many tensions we had to overcome. At a time of dramatic changes at the world level and of tragic convulsions close to our borders, Romania is increasingly appreciated as a factor of stability and as a country that can rightly have a say in the achievement of peace and in the establishment of a climate of trust and hope. The country's stability must be defended and strengthened through its development. This is the duty of all Romania's citizens, which should be reiterated now, on the 75th anniversary of the 1918 Great Union.

Honored audience, in profound agreement with the democratic values and [word indistinct], the Alba Iulia Declaration proclaimed: equal freedoms and rights for all citizens, regardless of nationality; full freedom for all religions; the desire to live in peace and harmony with all neighboring countries; and the desire to contribute to Europe's peace and stability. Today, all citizens, regardless of ethnical origin or religious faith, have equal rights in Romania. The coexistence and cooperation of all citizens is an enrichment for the cultural and material patrimony of the country, to the benefit of us all. We would also like that the Romanians living beyond our borders should enjoy favorable conditions for preserving and asserting their national identity. Unfortunately, some of them are faced with very many difficulties—something that is hard to comprehend at this end of millennium—in their legitimate efforts to preserve their language, culture, traditions, and national spirit. Consequently, it is only proper now, on this holy day for all Romanians, to direct our thoughts toward and express our solidarity with all the Romanians living beyond the country's borders. We primarily express solidarity with the young men who are behind bars in Tiraspol, just because they insisted on feeling, thinking, and speaking Romanian.

National solidarity and the solidarity of all the country's citizens should express itself through efforts in the service of development and creation. Both the intolerant, chauvinistic, and xenophobic nationalism and the disregard or underestimation of national interests are damaging attitudes. Our duty is to pass on to the next generations the inheritance handed down to us from the Great Union, which we enhance by our traits and contribution.

Dear fellow citizens, it is within our power to overcome this difficult period. However, we can only achieve this in full unity, by blending our efforts. Therefore, in these solemn moments, I call upon all the country's political forces, the trade unions, and professional and civil organizations to find the way of reconciliation and basic understanding on priority options arising from the national interest. Let each one of us go back to our homes permeated by this moral responsibility and the thought that the country's fate depends on all of us. Let us all wish, on our National Day, Many Happy Returns of the Day!

CDR Organizes National Day Rally

AU0112161693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] At noon today a meeting organized by the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] took place in Bucharest's Revolution Square devoted to Romania's National Day and the 75th anniversary of the Great Union.

The meeting was attended by the representatives of parties and formations incorporated in the CDR and by members and supporters of this political alliance coming from Bucharest and from counties and localities throughout the country. The participants in the meeting were carrying tricolor flags, portraits of former King Mihai, and pro-monarchist slogans.

At the beginning of the meeting, two priests—one orthodox, one Greek-Catholic—officiated at a religious service in memory of the nation's heroes.

During the two-hour meeting, the floor was taken by leaders of political formations and CDR member organizations such as Corneliu Coposu [president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNTCD]; Vintila Bratianu [president of the National Liberal Party-CDR]; Sergiu Cunescu [president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania]; Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu [PNTCD senator]; Ana Blandiana [Civic Alliance leader]; Bela Marko [president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]; Otto Weber [president of the Ecological Party of Romania]; Victor Babiuc [Democratic Party(National Salvation Front) deputy]; representatives of trade union and students' organizations, as well as by members of the 21 December Association and of the Association of the Wounded, Successors, and Invalids of the Revolution.

In a statement made exclusively for the Radio Romania Current Events Program, Professor Emil Constantinescu, CDR president, specified that the main objective of this meeting was to pay homage to the memory of those who achieved the Great Union in order to restore historical truth, the way it was written.

At our reporter's question, which was prompted by the atmosphere in the square, namely whether the message of the meeting was pro- monarchist and anti-presidential, Mr. Emil Constantinescu specified that the organizers did not want to turn this meeting into a dispute about the two institutions—the monarchy and the republic—and emphasized that a genuine national reconciliation can be based solely on the idea of rallying around a major project aimed at the reconstruction of a modern and democratic Romania.

In conclusion to the meeting, Mr. Emil Constantinescu read a proclamation addressed by the CDR o the Romanian nation calling for the unity of all forces to fulfill the priority national targets, for reform, democracy, and for Romania's rebirth, our reporters informed us.

MP's Condemn Law Enforcement at Rally

AU0212075093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 01/12/1993—"If all the personalities representative for Romania had been together at this moment, the dynamic effect on the people would have been greater," Petre Roman, chairman of the Democratic Party [PD], told the press after officials addressed the rally organized at Alba Iulia on Romania's national day. Radu Berceanu, deputy for the PD, deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, showed indignation at what he had called the aggressive way in which order keeping officers addressed the delegation of members of the Democratic Party, Civic Alliance Party, Civic Alliance Party [PAC], and the Liberal Party'93, [PL'93], who wanted to go out of the square in front of the Orthodox Cathedral at Alba Iulia, together with a group of people. Emil Negrutiu, PAC senator, Adrian Severin DP deputy, Andrei Potcoava, senator LP'93 made similar statements on this event.

Serb Assembly Leader Sees Chance for Agreement

LD0212115393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Jagodina, 2 December (TANJUG)—Republic of Srpska assembly president Momcilo Krajisnik told Radio Jagodina today that "for the first time since the negotiations with the Muslims began, there is a chance for an agreement."

In an exclusive interview given shortly before Serb-Muslim negotiations were to resume in Geneva today, he expressed hope that "there could be a breakthrough in the talks today."

"It is important that the Muslims have realized that the lines of demarcation, rather than Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state, is the main problem," Krajisnik said. "A positive outcome that we expect from the talks today depends, however, on the attitude of those advising the Muslims as well, since they (the Muslims) have not been conducting their policy independently."

Asked to say if the Serbs would be prepared to give up some of their territories, he said: "We refused to dicuss any concessions in either eastern or western Bosnia because that would destroy the compact nature of the Serbian territories. The remaining territories will be discussed today when the Serbian side will try to meet some of their demands."

Asked to assess the speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at the plenary session, Krajisnik said that "in a statesman-like manner" Milosevic "said all that was necessary to tell Europe and the world... And that will be noted in history." [TANJUG punctuation]

According to Krajisnik, "The amount of evil and injustice committed by the members of the European Community against the Serb people has never been inflicted upon a nation before. In other words, the Serbs had to tell the world that they do not accept ultimatums and blackmail..."

Silajdzic Views Humanitarian Aid Agreement

AU0212092593 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov-3 Dec 93 p 5

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic to "Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television and B-H PRESS"; place and date not given: "Climate for Peace"]

[Text] After returning from Geneva, Zagreb, and Split, Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in an interview for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television and B-H PRESS, said the following:

[Silajdzic] In Geneva, the goal was to open corridors for the humanitarian convoys. We signed a declaration about this, and we will see about the results. We all agreed that the passage of humanitarian convoys should be unhindered, and our side insisted that force be used to protect the convoys should it be necessary. Experience has taught us that we cannot experiment with hundreds of thousands of people and that convoys must be allowed through, and, if necessary, force must be used; if force is not necessary—good. So we signed a joint declaration about this. We hope that there will be good results. I think that this was a good initiative by Mrs. Ogata, the [UN] high commissioner for refugees, and a well-timed one. We also had bilateral talks with Serbian representatives in Geneva. We raised various questions and issues, humanitarian and political, and I have the impression that there are conditions for serious talks and negotiations about ending the war and about peace.

[B-H PRESS] You continued the talks in Zagreb about securing corridors for the passage of humanitarian convoys. Did you and [Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister] Mr. Granic reach an agreement?

[Silajdzic] Well, unfortunately, we have had quite a few such meetings. They have not always been productive. However, we must not stop. In Zagreb, I first met President Tudjman, and then Mr. Granic and Mr. Boban [leader of the Bosnian Croats], and other Croatian representatives, especially those from Herzegovina. We concluded that there should be a meeting of military delegations to arrange the technical details about the passage of convoys, and then to discuss the possibility of the cessation of hostilities. We hope the meeting will take place soon. In Zagreb, we talked about the exchange of prisoners, which was interrupted in Mostar, as you know, and we also discussed the release of helicopters that have been grounded [in Medjugorje], a field hospital that has for months been waiting in Ploce to be transported to the left bank of Mostar. That hospital consists of 38 containers and it would be a great help. In Mostar, some of our people are waiting for medical aid and we very much want to see the first convoys—those headed toward central Bosnia and the left bank of Mostar—come through as soon as possible. Commissions based in Zagreb are working on that and they have daily contact with the convoys and the people working with convoys in Croatia and Herzegovina.

[B-H PRESS] Prime Minister, to what extent is Zagreb prepared to influence Grude in the negotiations?

[Silajdzic] The very fact that, along with Mr. Granic, our meeting was attended by representatives of the Croats from Herzegovina, those who currently decide about the convoys, those who stop them, can be a good sign. I hope I am not mistaken. I think that halting convoys is no longer in anyone's interest, as every side is suffering.

In the event that convoys are stopped, we will insist on force being used. However, the circumstances are such that the convoys can be halted by snow. Therefore, food and equipment, especially winter survival equipment, must urgently be delivered in as large quantities as possible, and, naturally, the quality of people's diet must

be improved. Moreover, we keep insisting on Operation "Parachute," the delivering of supplies by air to areas that cannot be reached by land.

[B-H PRESS] In Split, you also met with Karoljas Papuljas, head of the Greek Foreign Ministry. I suppose that you could not meet with him in Sarajevo because of the weather. That meeting rounded off Papuljas's visit to the Balkans. Tell us, is there anything new in initiatives for resuming negotiations and establishing humanitarian corridors?

[Silajdzic] Mr. Papuljas was on his way to Sarajevo. This was the third or fourth time that he had attempted to come to Sarajevo via Split. He did not succeed. Our aircraft also had to turn back—although we were already somewhere over Bjelasnica—owing to bad weather and the situation at the airport, so we met in Split. Of course, Mr. Papuljas also wanted to meet with President Izetbegovic, but the meeting could not take place because he could not leave Split. Therefore, the meeting was held at Split Airport. I think the meeting went quite well because I felt that Greece, as chairman of the EC from 1 January, 1994, wants to use all its influence and its position to help establish peace in these parts, since Greece is also affected by this war. The entire region is suffering, primarily because of the traffic blockade, the sanctions, etc. I think we can expect—because Greece belongs to the region—the maximal engagement of Greece to speed up initiatives such as the Franco-German initiative that we discussed and that was not widely known until now. It had only been discussed by a few European ministers of certain major countries. Initiatives must be stimulated and we must start talking about peace. As I say, I got the impression that the climate and conditions for serious talks are being created, for it is evident that the continuation of the war can only harm everyone. It seems that the way that advocates killing and destruction is slowly disappearing. Everyone is affected by the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Everybody is suffering. Both the victim and the aggressor, and other countries, too. This is the basis for some hope. The fact that no one is willing to pay and invest in conflicts, in the war, any more is also encouraging. That could lead to bilateral meetings where the warring parties would seriously consider signing up for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[B-H PRESS] According to FRANCE PRESS, you said in Sarajevo that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is prepared to accept this new, altered Franco-German initiative for ending the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Could you clarify that?

[Silajdzic] Yes, of course, once we have seen what this initiative is like, and what its results are. We support the initiative, but an initiative is not an agreement. An initiative is not a plan, it is just an initiative. Therefore, we support the initiative, and we will say what we think about the plan when we see it. I think we need the initiative, for we have no alternative. Simply, there are no other ideas and that is why the Kinkel-Juppe initiative is good, well-timed, and we will evaluate it when we have it in front of us, together with the plan.

'Fiercest Battles' for Tuzla-Zenica Route

AU0112202093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Report by Velid Djindjo from Olovo]

[Excerpt] In the past day the fiercest battles so far have been fought for the strategically important elevation No. (?1,113) in the Vares battlefield.

According to the information received by 1700 [word indistinct] day [words indistinct]. The united aggressor is constantly attacking [words indistinct] from available artillery arms and tanks. The enemy infantry is charging blindly in this direction with great losses, doing everything possible to conquer these territories and cut off the [word indistinct] communication linking up Zenica and Tuzla basins.

The united units of our Army have been successfully resisting all occupiers' attacks today. Considerable quantities of infantry arms have been seized and another, ninth aggressor's tank in this offensive has been destroyed.

Throughout the day the enemy has been pounding the lines of Olovo defenders in the regions of Bakcic, Kremenjaca, Krusevo, Gradina, [word indistinct], and Grabovica with all available arms. [passage omitted]

Croat, Muslim Forces Reportedly Attack Serbs

LD0112142293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 1 Dec 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bratunac, Dec 1 (TANJUG)—In Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH), Croat and Moslem formations carry on with their attacks on Serb villages and positions, while Croat-Moslem fighting also continues despite the fact that the three warring parties in Geneva are negotiating a peaceful solution to the conflict in this ex-Yugoslav republic.

Serb military sources said on Wednesday that in the past 24 hours Croat forces in the northern Bosnian region of Orasje were opening infantry and anti-aircraft gun fire on Serbian settlements and positions.

Moslem forces also resumed their combined artillery-infantry actions against Serb positions in the Doboj region, outside Brcko and on Mt Ozren in northern BiH, continuing also their armed provocations in the regions of Srbobran and Mt Vlasic in central Bosnia.

On the Sarajevo battlefront, Moslems intensified their sniper fire on Serb parts of the city, while small infantry groups of the Moslem Army in the eastern Bosnian

enclave of Gorazde (U.N.-declared safe area) overnight launched attacks on Serb positions in the Foca region.

Fierce Moslem-Croat infantry fighting continued also in the Herzegovina town of Mostar and in the central Bosnian region of Fojnica.

In this region, special Moslem units were trying to break through the Croat forces defence lines, the Zagreb-based Croatian radio reported. The radio said that Moslems directed their tank, gun and artillery fire to the Croat-controlled territory.

It added that Croat forces were successfully withstanding attacks by Moslem forces headed to break through to their troops in Zavidovici to pull them out of an encirclement.

Bosnian Serb military sources said on Wednesday that inter-Moslem clashes were continuing in the autonomous province of West Bosnia between followers of Fikret Abdic and those of fundamentalist Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic.

Foreign Minister Comments on Peace Efforts

AU0112200693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa]

[Text] The CSCE ministers fully supported the European Community plan at the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is most important, they supported the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This demand was particularly stressed by the representatives of the United States, Austria, Turkey, and Albania. The United States, that is, its Secretary of State Warren Christopher, promised to double the humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina totaling $150 million. Canada has also promised humanitarian aid to the value of $10 million.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic briefed the participants of the CSCE meeting about the situation in Bosnia and the expectations of our delegation at the Geneva talks.

The minister particularly underlined the just demands of the Bosnian delegation for a return of a part of the occupied territory and access to the sea for the future Bosnian Republic, which, as he said, will promote the spirit of multiethnic Bosnia within the future Bosnia-Herzegovina Union. However, in his speech at the plenary session in Rome, Minister Ljubijankic particularly expounded on the reasons for the crisis, that is to say, reminded of the reasons for the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, as he said, had emerged due to efforts by some neighboring countries to set up quisling, parastates within Bosnia-Herzegovina because of ethnic cleansing and mass murders.

Pope John Paul II received all the CSCE ministers. The leading Italian paper CORRIERE DELLA SERA printed a picture of this meeting on its front page. The pope on this occasion spoke mostly about Bosnia-Herzegovina and called upon the world to end the war.

Among numerous bilateral talks of Minister Ljubijankic, we single out those with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, Western European Union [WEU] chairman Van Eckelen, the Bulgarian foreign minister, and numerous others.

In the talks with Manfred Woerner Minister Ljubijankic drew attention to the violation of the no-fly zone above Bosnia-Herzegovina. This UN resolution is being violated by the Serbs and the Croats alike. Manfred Woerner said that NATO also holds such information and that Croatia has already been seriously warned for it.

WEU Secretary General Van Eckelen expressed support for a political solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. Van Eckelen invited Minister Ljubijankic to visit Brussels where he would be able to present once again all problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the WEU Headquarters and demand support for the resolution of the crisis.

Numerous journalists in Rome have requested interviews and statements of the Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign minister. Minister Ljubijankic singles out the interview for NBC television station which broadcasts to most Arabic and Islamic countries. The minister on that occasion emphasized that the Arabic and Islamic countries must become more engaged in the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis due to their great political influence the world.

Yesterday in Rome, yesterday and today in Geneva, tomorrow in Brussels—everybody is talking about Bosnia. We hope that somebody will help at the end.

Islamic Community Condemns Killing of Imams

AU0112220893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Excerpt] In the name of all imams and members of the Islamic community we raise our voice against the callous murders of our religious leaders—imams, a statement for the public by the Committee of the Islamic Community of Sarajevo says.

The statement, among other things, quotes two most recent cases of crimes committed in Vogosca and Kiseljak.

After being tortured a young imam Hasim Efendi (?Aramic) was stabbed to death together with his four-member family in Vogosca. He could have saved himself by fleeing but he remained with his congregation and neighbors.

The soldiers of the Croatian Defense Council have killed Omer Efendi Drkic and 17 most prominent believers of the Han Ploce congregation near Kiseljak, and then poured gasoline on them and set them on fire in a garage. Afterward they also set the mosque on fire. [passage omitted]

Mladic Warns of Retaliating for Poison Gas Attacks

LD0112201893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1812 GMT 1 Dec 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 1 (TANJUG)—The commander of the Bosnian Serb Army, General Ratko Mladic, on Wednesday warned that his troops would take "corresponding measures" if the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) fails to prevent the Bosnian Moslems from manufacturing chemical weapons and using them in war aims.

Gen. Mladic sent an open letter to UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia, General Francis Briquemont, after the latest Moslem attack against the Bosnian Serbs in which shells filled with poison gases were used.

Gen. Mladic warned Gen. Briquemont that the banned poison gas artillery shells and missiles are manufactured in Tuzla, a city under the protection of the United Nations.

This Moslem enclave in northeast Bosnia is protected by the U.N. troops and, under an agreement by the warring sides, should be a demilitarized zone, Gen. Mladic said.

He said that the poison gas shells and rockets are made in the chemical plant "Hak" of Tuzla. "I believe in your efficient measures to dismantle the facilities and destroy the already manufactured quantities," Gen. Mladic said.

In their attacks on Serb positions, especially in the region of Zvornik (eastern Bosnia), the Moslem forces used chemical shells, as confirmed in October by U.N. military monitors. The latest attack took place on Saturday when 11 people were brought to the Loznica hospital for treatment from poison gas.

In an interview to Radio Yugoslavia on Wednesday, Gen. Mladic said that the Moslems are also using poison gas artillery shells against the Bosnian Croats near Vares, central Bosnia. According to Gen. Mladic, the Moslems are manufacturing chemical weapons owing to the lack of caution of UNPROFOR which met their demands and supplied them with "certain components, primarily detonators and some types of explosives" allegedly for the Moslem coalmines in central Bosnia.

Gen. Mladic said that UNPROFOR, especially General Remsy, on November 13 demanded from the Bosnian Serb Army command to allow the transport of 28,000 detonators. The Moslems abused this and manufactured chlorine rockets, mortar and artillery shells.

Gen. Mladic added that UNPROFOR repeated the same request on November 29.

NATO Denies Yugoslav Jet Attacked Tuzla

AU0112144693 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Naples, Italy, Dec 1 (AFP)—A NATO military spokeswoman denied Wednesday [1 December] that a Yugoslav air force MiG-29 jet dropped bombs over Tuzla in north-east Bosnia the previous day, as reported by Radio Sarajevo.

Lieutenant-colonel Janes Witt, with Allied Forces Southern Europe based here, said NATO aircraft patrolling the no-fly zone ordered by the United Nations a year ago "have had no aircraft tracks which could correlate a jet flight in the area of Tuzla for some time. I guess that is a denial."

Another military source said it would have been very difficult, given the "very poor weather" on Tuesday in the region, for a MiG to have been able to fly low-level to avoid being detected by radar.

Tuesday's radio report said the jet dropped three cluster bombs in and around Tuzla, wounding a large number of people. The authorities in the Moslem enclave protested to UN Protection Force officials.

Abdic Condemns Croatian Press 'Accusations'

AU0212092493 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 29 November 93 p 8

[Letter from Fikret Abdic, leader of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, to Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic; date not given: "We Are Not Supplying the Serbian Army"]

[Text] You know that, on behalf of the citizens of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, I signed documents on the establishment of lasting peace with the most responsible representatives of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna and the republic of Srpska. You also know that those documents are among the very few that were signed on this territory and are actually being implemented and respected in their entirety. Not only did we establish a lasting peace, we also opened a traffic corridor, whereby this area was unblocked after two years. This, in turn, created the conditions for supplying people, enabled the arrival of our citizens from abroad, and started production.

The fact that this area has not had electric power for two years justifies the measures taken in order to get electricity from power units in order to enable the normal operation of health stations, water pumping sites, and production capacities, for which fuel is necessary. The war is over for the people in the autonomous province of western Bosnia. The national defense forces of western Bosnia are getting stronger every day, so we can soon expect the liberation of territory that is still under military dictatorship.

Authorities in Sarajevo deny the results we achieved, and in that, they are supported by a part of the Croatian press, which published cruel accusations like the ones sublimating in the headline: "In Agrokomerc Trucks, Fikret Abdic Transports Oil and Food Supplies for the Serbian Army From Zagreb to Banja Luka," which was published in GLOBUS on 26 November 1993. I strongly protest and condemn such accusations.

In order to transport goods and people into western Bosnia, I organized some of the most elite personnel, who—no matter how weird it may seem regarding armed conflicts on this territory—are under my direct control. I made efforts to open the passage via Turanj, where a convoy passes every other day, and I am sure that mistakes are made only once and never again. I assure you that we are not making any mistakes or irregularities in this business.

Pointless accusations can easily be checked. I propose—although this is unprecedented—that the Croatian Government set up a special commission to inspect all warehouses throughout western Bosnia and the necessary documentation and take other measures in order to establish the facts of the case and inform the responsible Croatian authorities, as well as the general public.

Two Aid Convoys Pass Through Serbian Territory

LD0112234993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 1 Dec 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, Dec 1 (TANJUG)—Two convoys carrying humanitarian aid for Bosnian Moslems on Wednesday [1 December] passed safely through Bosnian Serb territory, Bosnian Serb military sources say.

A 13-truck convoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is carrying 78 tons of flour for the Moslem-held Tuzla in the northeast of war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A 10-truck convoy of the International Committee of the Red Cross destined for the Moslem-controlled town of Travnik in central Bosnia passed through Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf) without any problems.

Humanitarian convoys have been passing safely only through Serb- controlled territory after a suspension of aid deliveries to central Bosnia because of fierce Moslem-Croat fighting and attacks on convoy personnel.

The local Serb sources in Srbobran say that the exodus of Serbs from Moslem-held neighbouring Bugojno has been postponed for next Friday.

Bugojno's Serb community has dwindled from 9,000 to 560 since the outbreak of the Bosnian civilian war 20 months ago.

Muslims, Croats To Exchange Prisoners

LD0112171093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] Over the next six days, the Muslim army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Mostar should exchange imprisoned soldiers, civilians, and the wounded. The evacuation of wounded Muslims from the eastern part of Mostar should also be resumed and the whole process should end with an exchange of prisoners according to the all-for-all principle. This was agreed at a meeting held between Muslim army and HVO representatives in Medjugorje.

The first part of the agreement should be implemented today. UN Protection Force vehicles are supposed to transfer five wounded HVO soldiers from a hospital in the Muslim-held part to the [Croat-held] western part of Mostar, and at the same time 16 wounded Muslims should leave the western part for the Muslim-held part of the city. [passage omitted]

Muslims, Croats Exchange Wounded in Mostar

LD0112185493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] Six wounded members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] were transferred by UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] this evening from the Muslim controlled part of Mostar to Mir Hospital on Bijeli Brijeg. Sixteen Muslim soldiers being treated in HVO hospitals in western Mostar were transferred to the eastern part this morning. [passage omitted]

Deputy Commander's Letter on Combat Escalation

AU0112173493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the Headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces, sent a letter to the cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commands for former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Red Cross today.

It is written in the letter that, since the departure of our state delegation for Geneva on 28 November, the aggressor has started unscrupulous attacks against the civilian population and buildings on the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fierce and inhumane attacks at the starving and freezing residents of our homeland are aimed at destroying the Bosnia-Herzegovina people and again exerting pressure upon our delegation in Geneva. I have informed General (Remsely), head of UNPROFOR

Headquarters for Bosnia-Herzegovina, of this on three occasions, requesting that he informs the cochairmen and organizers in Geneva. Namely, the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor and the domestic Chetniks have been destroying ruthlessly the towns of Tuzla, Teocak, Olovo, Maglaj, and Sarajevo in these days. They are using combat aircraft and helicopters in this.

The extremists of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] together with the Croatian Army are destroying Gornji Vakuf, Jablanica, and Stari Vitez. Many people have disappeared and many more have been injured in the last three days. This inhumanity culminated at approximately 2200 on 30 November 1993 when the humanitarian installations in the town of Sarajevo were attacked from the aggressor's positions around Sarajevo. On that occasion the clinical center in Sarajevo was hit by six bombs. Two nurses died while three medical staff and several residents sustained seriously injuries.

Everything stated above has been confirmed by the UNPROFOR observers. In yesterday's attack on Tuzla and northern Bosnia, UNPROFOR observers and our residents were the witnesses of the attacks by aggressor's MiG-29 aircraft.

Gentlemen, do not you think that, after 20 months of war and attacks against the innocent residents of our state and the aggression that is unprecedented in the history, the time has come for you to coordinate your views and finally punish the aggressors against a state and a nation that is merely defending what is theirs and which you have unanimously recognized? It is high time that you become unanimous. In the opposite case, our nation is threatened by destruction and you by a condemnation of freedom-loving nations of the world, the coming generations, and the past.

At the end, we remind you that the town of Sarajevo and most towns on the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina have no water, gas, or electricity, is stated in a letter by Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces.

Tudjman Demands Link Between Krajina, Sanctions

AU0212101593 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 November 93 p 2

[HINA report: "Tudjman: High Time for Peace"]

[Text] Brijuni—"One cannot help thinking about Geneva," said Franjo Tudjman to journalists on the island of Vanga on Friday [26 November], when asked what he expected from the new round of negotiations in Geneva on Monday.

The president of the Republic of Croatia pointed out that, during the annual meeting on Vanga with the diplomatic corps accredited to Croatia, they could not avoid discussing the new phase of negotiations, which will be held in Geneva on Monday.

After the meeting with the diplomats, Tudjman said the following to the press:

"I think that the European Community and even the United States are closer to taking some decisive steps. Moreover, whether the agreement on a cease-fire between the representatives of the Croatian authorities and the local Serbs will be reached today or tomorrow, will tell us more about whether Geneva will produce some results. Those negotiations are under way and we will see what will happen.

It seems to me that some sensible people on all sides are slowly realizing that it is high time that we established peace. Anyway, we have constantly been making efforts to do this, but although we have always advocated a political solution, both Europe and the United States are today urging us to relinquish the military option. We wanted to solve the problem of the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones peacefully from the beginning, but also to find a political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

All in all, on the eve of the Geneva meeting, we can still hope to be closer than ever to an agreeable solution. That does not mean that the first meeting in Geneva will bring any results, but it is important that we have managed to link the problems of the UNPA zones with the solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina question.

Some important international politicians want to lift the sanctions imposed on Serbia just if the Serbs make some concessions in the process of solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But we have managed—previously at sessions of the Security Council and now with regard to the Kinkel-Juppe plan—again, in addition to Resolution 847, which was mentioned by the ministers of France and Germany, to include Resolution 871, which implies not lifting the sanctions until the problem of UNPA zones is solved.

We are justified in doing that, for the Serbs from Krajina and even the Serbs from Bosnia keep talking about their intentions to unite Serbian countries. They do not ask themselves when Krajina was a Serbian country. Those issues should have been discussed, even at the round tables that were recently held in Zagreb. But, unfortunately, those issues were not discussed then.

As long as critical issues are not discussed openly, there cannot be a solution to the situation. Naturally, our state policy did not favor raising tensions. We have always advocated normalization.

In any case, twenty years ago, I wrote that the time would come for a scandinavization of the unfortunate Balkans on the basis of mutual recognition, which will be in the interest of all the nations.

Here, on this territory, this primarily implies the normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia. As long as there is no normalization of those relations, until Serbia recognizes Croatia and its borders, and until it relinquishes the desire to annex the so called Krajina—where the Serbs constituted the majority only in the districts of Knin and Glina, and then only over the last couple of decades, and not before—until that is solved, there cannot be a normalization of relations, nor the establishment of a stable international system in the southeast of Europe and in the Balkans.

There are certain indications that even the most responsible men in Belgrade have realized this, and that inspires hope. But normalization is not taking place not because that would change many people's plans for a greater Serbia, but because of the present circumstances and because Croatia has managed to hold its own without help from abroad. The world must count on Croatia as an important factor of order, both here and in the world."

Valentic Discusses Stabilization Program

AU0212103893 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 30 Nov 93 p 5

["Excerpts" of interview with Prime Minister Nikica Valentic by an unidentified Croatian Television correspondent in Zagreb on 29 November: "We Did Not Believe Either"]

[Text] As a guest of the Croatian Television news program, Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic presented the current situation of the stabilization program, placing special emphasis on curbing inflation, which was only 1.4 percent this month. We are publishing excerpts from the interview.

[Correspondent] Inflation was 1.4 percent this month. The government had announced 10 percent inflation and you had predicted 5 percent. Would you please comment on that?

[Valentic] Well, we were convinced that inflation would be less than 5 percent. However, we did not dare publicly present such projections, as we thought that would have made us seem frivolous. Curbing inflation from 40 to 5

percent could not have been done at the time. That is why we gradually reduced it from 10 to 5 percent, but, if you have been following the situation, you will notice that, for a month and a half now, inflation was less than 10 percent, and, in the past 30 days, less than 5 percent. We were also surprised to hear that the present inflation for November is 1.4 percent because we were expecting 3-5 percent, but that only shows that we managed to curb the inflation in the first stage of the program. I must say that the program was professionally developed and was almost perfectly implemented. The first stage of the program was completed almost two months before the deadline with a very low price, which will probably be discussed in the near future.

[Correspondent] Some businessmen have been complaining about difficulties—an unrealistic exchange rate for the German mark, and particularly about exports, decreasing production, which, in Zagreb, for the month of October, was on average 4.8 percent less than for September...?

Reducing a Patient's Fever [subhead]

[Valentic] We know that very well. It is impossible to cut inflation from 40 to 1.5 percent, i.e. make it 30 times lower, without any consequences. However, I can say with full responsibility that there was no significant decrease of industrial production. Moreover, the exchange rate is not the only criterion for export, and there will have to be further domestic price cuts in order to make the present exchange rate—which might have surprised many—attain parity with domestic prices. I dare say—and we have both feet on the ground, I must repeat that, for there is no reason for euphoria—this is just a first step and that, in the next couple of months, inflation must not raise above this level and prices must be further reduced. If we manage to achieve that, we will get a realistic exchange rate and a realistic ratio of domestic input and export prices.

[Correspondent] When you spoke about the government's stabilization package, you said that curbing inflation is just the first part and that the second, more difficult stage is yet to follow. You are cutting inflation; what will happen next?

[Valentic] Cutting inflation is like reducing a patient's fever before you operate. Our main task now is to restructure and eliminate everything that can no longer endure participation in the market game, close a large number of banks whose client structure objectively makes them unable to function as banks, full privatization, and, to top it all, revitalize production. I can announce that we will soon try to cut customs duty, taxes, and contributions and that we will raise export stimulation, revitalize building construction, shipbuilding, machine building industry, agriculture, and tourism. We are aware that we do not stand a chance without revitalizing production; however, the present level of inflation, which amounts to approximately 18 percent a year, gives some hope for success. I would also like to point out that we are being carefully monitored from abroad. After we received the data a couple of days ago, the announced mission consisting of nine IMF and World Bank members is arriving in Zagreb tomorrow, and we expect very positive comments of international monetary institutions and financial support to our program.

Either Christmas Bonuses or the Program Will Fail

[Correspondent] Please tell us about the Christmas bonuses, will people be getting them this year or not?

[Valentic] Unfortunately, the main principle of this government is that it must cover all expenses from the real revenue. I would personally like to see people get two Christmas bonuses, but I do not know where to get the money for that. I can honestly say that there are no real sources for paying Christmas bonuses right now. Not only are there 150,000 budget users, but there are also several hundred thousand soldiers, policemen, who are also paid from the budget, and 850,000 old-age pensioners. If each one of them gets a bonus of only 100 German marks, that would amount to more than 120 million German marks and that would seriously undermine the program. Let me take this opportunity to say that, last year, when people received their Christmas bonuses, inflation rose by 10 index points as a result. Consequently, I have to stress that, unfortunately, there are no chances of people getting Christmas bonuses this year, but if we manage to keep this rate of inflation, that will actually constitute a kind of a bonus, for their salaries will actually start to increase. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Manolic's Krajina Initiative

AU0212114993 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 30 Nov 93 p 21

[Report by Marko Barisic: "Martic's Men in the Croatian Police"]

[Text] The proposal of Josip Manolic, president of the Chamber of Counties, to include local Serbian police units in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia triggered strong reactions. On the surface, it seems to be beyond belief that the current enemy's army, which committed so many atrocities during their aggression on Croatia and which now occupies more than a quarter of Croatian territory, should be placed under the protection of the state. Naturally, that would imply that it would be pardoned for everything that it has done, from Vukovar and Skabrnja to Dubrovnik.

Some thought that Manolic had made a mistake, but since he has again repeated this, let us analyze what actually lies behind his proposal, and how generous it really is and for whom.

Manolic's proposal was presented at the time of a Croatian diplomatic offensive, which was aimed at

finding a peaceful solution to the problem of the occupied Croatian territory (UNPA) [United Nations Protected Area]. However, the president's peace initiative is just another contribution to the rigid view of the European Union to end the war in the Balkans by political means. That means that all those who advocate the military option are not supported by European countries either politically or economically. This also holds true for Croatia, regardless of the fact that it would be using military means to liberate its own internationally recognized territory.

To find a political solution, certain conditions must first be satisfied. The constitutional Law on the Rights and the Position of Minorities and Ethnic Communities evidently presents an inadequate framework for the rebel Serbs to be willing to negotiate. If they do not want to negotiate and if the international community does not want to force them to do so, then the war will continue. To continue the war or not is the matter of assessing the balance of military forces. If, for example, it is estimated that, by next year, the Croatian Army will be materially and technologically stronger than the Serbian Army, and if realistic projections are that the Serbian Army (which is in the "Krajinas") could be pushed back to the other side of the Danube and the Una, then there is, of course, no doubt as to which option will be used. However, if estimates say that the Serbian and the Croatian Army are equally strong and that there is no chance for Croatia to gain the advantage over Serbia in the near future, then that means that we should not start liberating one area while losing another. If that means that the war would continue for a long time—which would also impoverish Croatia—then it does not make sense.

However, Manolic's proposal also says something else. Croatia is still being accused of not seriously dealing with solving the Serbian question. The military operations at Maslenica and those around Gospic have contributed to that. European representatives usually reproach Croatia with wanting to conquer the UNPA zones militarily and thus get rid of the Serbs forever, since they presume that, after a raid of Croatian forces, there would not be many local Serbs left in those areas (something that the Serbian Army did to the Croats as well). That empty area should be filled with Manolic's proposal, which does not speak about including Serbian paramilitary forces in the Croatian system, but, rather, local police units as a separate entity. Therefore, Martic's police would be a legal police force, which would act in accordance with the Croatian Constitution, having the privileges that come with the autonomous status of the Serbs in the UNPA zones South and North (11 municipalities in which the Serbs constituted a majority according to the census of 1991). Consequently, they would have their own insignia, ranks, and command, their salaries would be paid from the Croatian budget, etc., and they would belong to the Croatian state.

Therefore, Manolic's proposal puts the Serbs to the test: Do they want to live in the Croatian state and have extensive autonomy or not? If they reject this proposal as well, there are no reasons for lifting economic sanctions imposed on Serbia, nor are there any prerequisites for the economic recovery of the "Krajinas," that is, chances for a better future for the people living there. Moreover, Manolic's proposal served to show the international community that Croatia wants peace and that it intends to solve the problem of its occupied territory using political means. If the Serbs do not accept that (this is not just a matter of Knin but also of Belgrade), international bodies will no longer have the right to object to Croatian policy. For, Croatian policy having reached the ultimate limit of its tolerance, once a military operation is launched, no one would be able to say that we had not exhausted all chances for a peaceful solution.

There are examples in Europe similar to Manolic's proposal. There are minority police forces in Sweden, which have their own insignia and command, and act as a part of one country. The Bavarian police in Germany is organized in a similar fashion. In Switzerland, local police with their own insignia are active in German cantons. Therefore, Croatia would not be an exception here.

However, it would be dangerous if Manolic's proposal were to be used by the rebel Serbs and the European Union as a "transitory solution" to annex the occupied Croatian areas to greater Serbia. If there are such indications (and they need not be invented, for Karadzic is already implementing a monetary union of the occupied Bosnian and Croatian territories with Serbia), then Manolic's proposal again seems to be applicable. It will not be at the expense of Croatia, and it will change its image: Instead of war cries, there are realistic peace initiatives. And it was high time that Croatia made a change in this regard: Those who yell and are militarily defeated should be replaced by those who keep silent and progress in liberating territories. Loud noises could only bring down Jericho. We need a disciplined army in order to take Knin.

Federal

Jovanovic Views Possible Easing of Sanctions

AU0212075293 Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 93 pp 6,7

[Interview with FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Slavoljub Kacarevic; place and date not given: "Is the Winter Thawing Out the Sanctions?"]

[Text] "It seems that after the weary, lengthy persuasions and pressures that have been put on Yugoslavia, the unbendable attitudes of the most powerful international factors are beginning to soften. It seems that the Yugoslav diplomacy has managed to make a considerable opening in the thick walls of international policy, and bring into question the steadfastness of their convictions about the Yugoslav crisis." This is how the first man of the Yugoslav diplomatic corps, Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, views the latest events that may considerably change the international position of Yugoslavia. Still, he warns that the inclination toward the black-and-white presentation of our troubles is still very common in the world.

[Kacarevic] Do you think there are some changes in the international position of Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] I would say that the gradual opening of foreign partners toward us is sometimes assuming the form of an accelerated development in certain segments. That is a consequence of the changed circumstances, and above all the consequence of the completely changed picture of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has consequently produced the necessity of revising assessments and attitudes in many countries. Understandably, political and national pride is preventing many countries from doing that publicly and carrying out a revision of their views in a particularly dramatic way. The majority of those countries are going for a gradual, imperceptible correction of the attitudes, which is being evidenced in many examples of more flexible behavior. Nevertheless, the entire process is still in its infancy, and represents only a fragile beginning that might be endangered by some sudden, negative course of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, regardless of who would be to blame for them. Such is the extent to which the conviction that we are the main culprits for everything that has been happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina is still present.

The isolation of Yugoslavia, which has been a part of the policy aiming at crushing and punishing it, has failed. From the very start that policy has been handicapped by the fact that the factors that actually proclaimed its isolation have been forced to negotiate with us, in order to be able to eventually solve any issue regarding Bosnia. Also, some other countries have been quite unwilling to go that far, so that the isolation has cracked open in several places, while, now, I would say that the first larger openings are coming about, and they will be coming about even further until, eventually, the isolation itself becomes senseless—unless the international community annuls the decision on the international isolation even before that happens.

After all, the isolation has been already broken by some nongovernmental agencies: We have already heard about meetings held between the representatives of some Yugoslav and foreign towns, between home and foreign journalists and doctors. We also have contacts in the field of science, while recently we found out that such openings are also coming about in the field of sport. That is to say, the world has finally realized that the black-and-white presentation of the Yugoslav crisis is not only opposite to the reality, but also leads to no settlement.

All that is still a process, and, right now, it is far from being satisfactory, but it is definitely unstoppable. In the weeks or months to come, we shall witness the faster development of that process, and certainly of some more advantageous trends for our country, not only with regard to contacts with the outer world, but also with regard to some new forms of cooperation.

[Kacarevic] The sanctions are probably the most interesting issue for the Yugoslav public at the moment. What is the result of the latest meeting of the European Community, and the decision regarding the sanctions against Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] We learnt about that decision from the newspaper reports, which means that we still do not have the complete text, so, for that reason, we shall state our definite attitude only after we have looked deeper into the whole matter. However, at first sight, it is a mixture of the new, encouraging approach, and the old, biased attitude of that community toward the Yugoslav crisis.

[Kacarevic] What is encouraging about it?

[Jovanovic] The European Community has finally taken into consideration the key question—the implementation of the sanctions. It is the crucial issue because it affects the country that is playing the most active and the most important role in the peace negotiations in Geneva, and also because the implementation of the sanctions was a result of the unproven supposition that Yugoslavia is the only, and most responsible, factor for the breakout of the Bosnian crisis. Not only has that supposition never been proven, but, since the beginning of the crisis, the course of events has been producing precisely the opposite facts, that the others have contributed very much by their conduct, irresponsibility, and thoughtless moves to the activation of that crisis, and Bosnia-Herzegovina's falling into the abyss of the fratricidal war.

The readiness of the European Community to grapple with the major problem, that is the sanctions, is a welcome occurrence, while a different question is of how the European Community sees the solution of that problem. In that respect, we have reasons for dissatisfaction, because the attitude of the European Community is not in accord with UN Security Council Resolution 757, which introduced the sanctions, but, on the other hand,

ties the lifting of the sanctions to the fulfillment of certain conditions regarding the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That means there is a direct connection between the cessation of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the lifting of the sanctions. The European Community is making efforts to introduce a transitory state, a half-way solution, between the cessation of the war and the lifting of the sanctions. That is the suspension of the sanctions. We cannot accept that the end of the war in Bosnia, of which Yugoslavia is most supportive, would only be rewarded by suspending the sanctions against Yugoslavia. After all, such a thing is not anticipated by the UN resolution, and it also opposes the principle of equality among the participants in the negotiations on the Yugoslav crisis. The sanctions should be suspended much earlier, particularly now, before the final round of the Geneva talks, as a stimulative measure that should speed up the peace process. That would not only motivate Yugoslavia to continue its efforts in finding a peace settlement, but it would also wipe out the major delusion of the Muslim side that the sanctions would help them to crush Yugoslavia, and consequently to crush the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well. Therefore, the decision on the immediate suspension of the sanctions would be in the absolute interest of the Geneva peace process itself, and not only in our interest. The lifting of the sanctions could be bound up with reaching a peace agreement, and fulfilling the clauses of the peace agreement. This means that, after several months, when all the obligations of the reconciled factions are fulfilled, the sanctions will definitely be lifted.

[Kacarevic] What is the position of Germany in the European Community right now, and are there any implications that the attitude of German diplomacy toward our country might be changed?

[Jovanovic] When speaking of Yugoslavia, so far, we have been an object of expanded interests of the united Germany, rather than a side that has benefited from Germany's new responsibilities. It seems that something is changing in German policy, while one of the indicators is the well-known French-German initiative that, regardless of its deficiencies, still contains some signs of the revision of the attitude toward Yugoslavia, particularly with regard to the sanctions and their further role. On the other hand, we are keeping contacts with many German businessmen who express open dissatisfaction because they lost the Yugoslav market, and who, like all other reasonable people, do not see any justification for Germany's capricious attitude since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis. It remains to be seen whether the indicators of a possible change of the German policy on Yugoslavia could be multiplying. We have always been ready to normalize our relations with all countries, particularly with important ones, and to set those relations right again. Given the role of the German Government in the process of the destabilization of Yugoslavia, we still do not feel bitter about the German people, we are ready to turn a new page and establish relations of mutual trust and cooperation with Germany.

[Kacarevic] Can we expect the import of gas and fuel oil [mazut] for heating this winter?

[Jovanovic] The question of the importation of fuel oil or gas from Russia, or any other country, depends in the first place on the U.S. attitude, because the United States has the decisive influence on the work of the UN Security Council and the UN Committee for Sanctions. What the United States does not want is simply impossible to accomplish.

[Kacarevic] Why is U.S. policy so stern in its attitudes toward the crisis in former Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] We cannot take any deeper insight in the explanations for their attitude, but we can keep in mind that, even in the United States, some doubts in the absolute validity of such a stance are arising. Some new winds are starting to blow there as well. True, those could be described more as distant, gentle breezes, but I believe that the accelerated positive development in the Geneva peace process will bring about some more objective insights, and thereby also the acceptance of a more objective and favorable U.S. policy on Yugoslavia.

[Kacarevic] How realistic are the newspaper headlines these days, claiming that the sanctions will be lifted as early as this winter?

[Jovanovic] That is still a very complex question. With rather well-founded expectations one can draw a conclusion that we are now nearer to the removal of the obstacles for the importat of gas and oil—that is, to the beginning of the lifting of the sanctions— than farther away from it, as would be the case if we had no encouraging signs in the sight. However, everything is still bound up with the Bosnian problem. What we heard in Brussels is an additional argument for my attitude, because, for the first time, it has been publicly discussed that Yugoslavia and the policy of the international community cannot be hostages of the Muslims' persistent refusals to consent to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the case of a further advancement of the Geneva peace process, and of further attempts by the Bosnian side to hamper it again, as it did many times before, this time the international community would release Yugoslavia from any further responsibility, which would result in the suspension, and eventually in the lifting of the sanctions. Which means, that the Muslims would be the only responsible side for the blockade of the peace process in Bosnia- Herzegovina, so that the accomplishment of a peace agreement would no longer be the absolute precondition for the process of lifting the sanctions against Yugoslavia to start.

[Kacarevic] Does that mean that the advancing winter will be under the sanctions in any case?

[Jovanovic] Yes, it does, but it is not certain whether it will be under all of the sanctions. I would rather say that some of the sanctions will start dropping off, the sooner the better. If the peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina were to be

signed soon, say in several weeks, and if the implementation of the peace were to start immediately, then the process of lifting the sanctions, the greatest part of them, or perhaps even all of them, should be brought to an end already in the following two moths. Of course, there will be efforts to keep some of the sanctions, and bind them up with some new conditions. However, it is improbable that those efforts will end in success.

Serbia

Protest Rally Planned Near U.S. Embassy

AU0112205893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] At 1500 tomorrow, in front of the German and U.S. Embassies in Belgrade, the supraparty organizations White Rose, New Byzantium, and the Alliance of Serbs from the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Srpska will organize a rally protesting the suffering of our children, the elderly, and the ill, that is, against the genocidal policy of the international community, against the sanctions, and against the hermetic blockade of the Serbian people and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The participants in the rally, who will symbolize the commemoration devoted to the victims of the sanctions, will carry improvised crucifixes and will mark the spot for a monumental marble crucifix that will be placed here in memory of the world's crime, that is, the magnum crimen committed against our people. The protest rallies will be held in front of the German and U.S. Embassies every Thursday until the end of the year. The organizers are calling on the people to support tomorrow's and subsequent protests.

Democratic Party To Join Opposition Coalition

LD0212094293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—At a session last night, the executive committee of the Democratic Party [DS] approved the initiative for the DS to join the joint electoral list of all parliamentary opposition parties in order to avoid the loss of votes, the party's information service has announced. The joint electoral list should include all parliamentary opposition parties, which would receive equal representation.

A statement says that a coalition between the DS and Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] without the participation of the DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia] was not even discussed.

Broader Unification Fails

LD0112235893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1917 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 1 (TANJUG)—Talks between the leading opposition parties of Serbia about appearing jointly at the early parliamentary elections in Serbia, set for December 19, have failed, the Democratic Movement of Serbia (Depos—a coalition of several opposition parties), announced on Wednesday [1 December].

The Depos election campaign headquarters blamed the failure of the three-day talks, conducted behind closed doors, on the leaders of the main opposition parties: Vojislav Kostunica—Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) and Zoran Djindjic—Democratic Party (DS).

Depos, dominated by one of the biggest opposition parties, the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), claims that the talks had sense only of the parties "temporarily gave up their partial interests in the interests of the transformation of Serbia" and appeared at the elections within a [words indistinct].

Together with Depos and the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) which did not take part in the unification talks, DSS and [word indistinct] the most supporters in Serbia.

Depos continues to urge its idea for the unification of the democratic opposition of Serbia and reiterates its proposal for the formation of a single list of the leading parties, the coalition said in a statement.

Regulations on Media Coverage Create 'Confusion'

AU0112212693 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by M. Turudic: "Flexible Mass Media"]

[Text] Numerous shortcomings and the imprecision of the effective Law on the Election of Members of the Parliament, as well as the impossibility of changing it (because the Serbian Parliament is dissolved) created confusion about the interpretation of election rules. In this situation, several steps were taken that are not quite irreproachable from the legal point of view and do not have support under law.

The Serbian Election Commission, which is now the only authority entitled to give official interpretations of the election procedure, decided several days ago to also enable those citizens whose identity numbers are not entered on electoral lists to vote. The members of this body (predominantly judges of the supreme and district courts) admitted that this decision was not correct according to the Law on Election, but they took it—as they say—with the intention of correcting the mistakes the authorities had made, since it is not the fault of the citizens that their identity numbers have not been entered on electoral lists.

Controversial Rules

Some time ago, the Serbian Government established the Supervision Board, the task of which will be to control the mass media, the political parties, and all other

participants in the forthcoming election. This is probably not a bad measure for the prevention of possible irregularities and for soothing party passions.

It has to be mentioned that it is stated in the Law on the Election of Members of Parliament that the parliament has to establish a Supervision Board (Article 123). The tasks of this body are also defined (Article 124). These stipulations were, however, valid only for last year's election, which can be seen from the following sentence: "In the procedure for the carrying out of the early election in 1992...," which means that this stipulation is not valid for the forthcoming election on 19 December.

Regardless of that, the Serbian Government passed the decision to establish the Supervision Board. It is questionable whether the government can take over the powers of parliament when such important decisions are taken, since it has been dissolved.

There are similar dilemmas also in connection with two documents adopted recently. The first one is The Rules for the Behavior of Mass Media in the Early Election, and the second The Agreement About the Number and Duration of Mass Media Programs, which should guarantee the equal presentation of political parties in the mass media.

The second document is not very controversial since it regulates (based on Article 16 of the Law on Election) details about the presentation of parties in radio and television programs in Serbia. This agreement has not officially taken effect yet, since it has not been signed by all parties that are participating in the election. According to the law, it should have been adopted, at the latest, five days after the election was scheduled, which means on 25 October.

The first document—The Rules for the Behavior of the Mass Media in the Early Election—has no serious foundation in the law, however, although it could perhaps contribute to a more regular election. The effective Law on Election does not contain the stipulation on the adoption of such a paper for the mass media on the level of the republic, it can only be adopted for the mass media founded by regions, towns, and communes (Article 62).

Imposed Obligations

If we neglect the legal support of The Rules for the Behavior of Mass Media in the Early Election, there are still several reasons for the criticism of the essence of this document and of the procedure by which it was adopted.

This document was drawn up (as it is stated in the preamble) by the representatives of the political parties that intend to participate in the election, by the Serbian Government, and the Serbian Radio-Television. This means that the representatives of other media, primarily the press, were not included in the adoption procedure, although the stipulations of this paper are also applicable to them! The Managing Board of the Association of Serbian Journalists noticed that this was illogical and publicly expressed "its protest and regrets."

If we also neglect this circumstance, there still remain doubts about the suitability and the scope of these papers. They precisely define the behavior of the mass media founded by the federal state, by the Republic of Serbia, by the regions, towns, and communes, but it is stated at the end (Article 9) that "the stipulations are valid for all mass media."

It is also questionable whether this strict stipulation corresponds to some other laws that regulate the freedom of the press, especially of the independent and party mass media. It is only natural that the mass media run by the state have to fulfill certain tasks, since they are financed by the state. The party mass media have different obligations, however, since they are financed from other sources.

Independent newspapers and radio and television stations that are financed according to the principles of the market economy, cannot be included in the inflexible stipulations imposed by somebody else, since they do not enjoy certain benefits (especially financial). The application of the stipulation would mean interference in their editorial policy and the freedom of their profession, which could have serious consequences for the information and political media. At the same time, this would be a funny obligation for sports, women's, and sex magazines, for example, since this means that they would have to join the election promotion, too.

At last, it is questionable whether the Rules for the Behavior of Mass Media in the Early Election are at all reasonable, since there is no sanction in case any of the stipulations of the Law on Election is violated.

Macedonia

Government Seeks New Talks With Greece on Name

AU0112190593 Paris AFP in English 1847 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Skopje, Dec 1 (AFP)—Macedonia wants negotiations to resume with Greece on the use of its official name, which Athens refuses to accept, Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski said Wednesday [1 December].

In a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, published here, Crvenkovski said that Skopje considered the earlier talks had been useful and contributed to calming the tension between the two neighbours.

He said the Skopje government profoundly regretted the decision by Greece, announced after the return to power on October 10 of socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, to abandon negotiations.

Greece considers only its northernmost province should bear the name of Macedonia and accuses the former Yugoslav republic of expansionist tendencies. In Athens Wednesday Papandreou claimed as an "important victory" for Greece the fact that the 52-member Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), meeting in Rome, was unable to admit Macedonia to its ranks because of Greek opposition. CSCE decisions are made by consensus.

Papandreou said Greece would continue to fight moves to recognise Skopje under the name of Macedonia, or the compromise "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" which some countries have adopted.

Athens, which takes over the rotating presidency of the European Community in January, has already warned other EC members against establishing diplomatic relations with Macedonia.

But in Paris Wednesday the general assembly of the Western European Union, a defence body grouping all EC countries except Denmark and Ireland, called on Greece to recognise Macedonia after severely criticising Athens' foreign policy.

Sir Russel Johnston, of the British delegation, submitted a report warning that the recent return to power of Papandreou on a strongly nationalist platform could have serious repercussions on the situation in the Balkans, and on European policy towards that region.

The WEU resolution was softened by an amendment calling on both Greece and Macedonia to deny any policy of expansion and respect present international boundaries.

April Census Expected To Count Local Albanians

AU0112133193 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The census in Macedonia, which is due to take place in early April 1994 with international observers, will show the number of Albanians in that republic, where it is estimated they make up 40 percent of the population. Let us hear a telephone report by correspondent Qani Mehmedi:

[Mehmedi] It is hoped that at the end, the census will show how many Albanians live in the republic, in contrast to the census taken half a century ago, in which it was considered that the number of Albanians was arbitrarily reduced. The Albanians in this republic do not make up about 40 percent, as declared by their representatives, but about 20 percent, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov told a foreign delegation visiting Skopje two days ago to talk about this issue, as if the head of state was a demographic specialist.

The greater number of Albanians in the population of Macedonia, even one half more that is officially known, is confirmed by others. Thus, by the way, as soon as it got to know about the new census, NOVA MAKEDONIJA, the main Macedonian newspaper published in Skopje, writes that the Greek news agency had estimated that 35-45 percent of the population of Macedonia are Albanians. According to Athens assessments, if we add to this the number of Muslims and Romanies, it is reasonable to expect that in the April 1994 census the Macedonians will appear to be a minority in Macedonia. Nevertheless, though there is some time to go until April, we should by that time create conditions so that the Albanian Macedonian citizens who live in various countries in Europe and the United States can take part in the census because if they do not it will not only reduce the number of Albanians in Macedonia, but will significantly affect the realization of the national rights of the Albanians living here.

Montenegro

Foreign Minister 'Uncomfortable' in Yugoslavia

PM0112120093 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 27 Nov 93 p 4

[Report by Ricardo Estarriol: "Foreign Minister Says That Montenegro Feels Uncomfortable in Present-Day Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Podgorica—"We are hostages of circumstances." With these words, spoken with a certain gesture of resignation, Miodrag Lekic, the young foreign minister of the Republic of Montenegro (one of the two states comprising the present Yugoslav Federal Republic), tried to describe the tragic and grotesque situation in which his republic of 610,000 inhabitants (6 percent of the inhabitants of what remains of Yugoslavia) finds itself. Referring to the sanctions, he said that "we are being punished because there is not peace in another, neighboring state."

Lekic shares President Bulatovic' viewpoint that Montenegro's secession at this point would be tantamount to mass suicide, but he does not dwell much on the results of the March 1992 referendum, so much criticized by the opposition. It is true that 75 percent of the voters declared themselves in favor of staying in Yugoslavia with the other republics which so wished, but it is also true that only 60 percent of the electorate voted, which means that in fact only 45 percent of the population was in favor of remaining part of Yugoslavia. Lekic does not use these opposition arguments, but he acknowledges that it was assumed at that time that Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia would also be in the new (third) Yugoslavia.

"The new Yugoslavia has begun badly," said Lekic, who acknowledges that Montenegro is in a blind alley, but that at the same time it does not wish to displease the international community's mediators. "The international community," he said, "has wished to help us with very great goodwill, but, on the other hand, it was unable to understand the complexity of the Balkans." Referring to the EC's initial effort to preserve Yugoslavia at all

costs, avoiding an agreed disintegration, Lekic said that the blame for everything lay with "uncontrolled disintegration" at a time when "everybody knew that an unagreed disintegration would lead to a war, and that Bosnia-Herzegovina would pay the price for this war."

Yugoslav Feeling

Before the war, the majority of the Montenegrin population regarded Yugoslavia as their fatherland: "I even described myself as Yugoslav, but now I am a Montenegrin, because we have realized that those feelings were an illusion, since elsewhere in Yugoslavia, as in the case of Slovenia, the state was regarded as a prison."

The Montenegrin politician acknowledges that Montenegro's ability to influence the federation's political life is slight, as is shown by the Montenegrin deputies' futile efforts on two consecutive occasions to save the Panic cabinet. But the republic has a tradition as a state. Back in the 11th century there was a Slav state in the present-day Montenegro, and it came into existence again in 1878, following the Turks' withdrawal. And Montenegro has its own interests, which do not coincide with Serbia's, such as, for instance, that the current destabilization caused by the Serbs in Kosovo should not have repercussions among the Albanian minority in Montenegro (5 percent of the population), who remain loyal to the current government. Nor does the Serbs' war against the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina facilitate the Montenegrins' coexistence with their own Muslim minority (15 percent).

"We will only be able to stay in a Yugoslavia which is democratic and federal and which conducts a policy of peace," the Montenegrin foreign minister asserted.

Kosovo

Serb Policemen Convicted, 'Promptly Released'

AU0112200293 Paris AFP in English 1956 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Pristina, Serbia, Dec 1 (AFP)—Two Serbian policemen were found guilty Wednesday [1 December] of beating to death an ethnic Albanian here in Kosovo's capital—and both were promptly released after being meted three-year prison sentences, a prosecution lawyer said. The move is likely to inflame ethnic tensions in this Albanian-populated but Serb-dominated former Yugoslav autonomous region.

It was the first murder trial of Serbian policemen since Belgrade imposed direct rule in 1990 on independent-minded Kosovo, whose population is 90 percent Albanian.

The lawyer, Hazer Susuri, said the two policemen had picked up Arif Krasniqi, a 42-year-old father of eight, in his taxicab, then beaten him with their commanding officer's approval in a police station, as they later confessed. Susuri, one of the three prosecution lawyers on the case, called the trial "a pure farce" and said it was clear the verdict would never be carried out. He said they would appeal.

A spokesman for the Kosovo Democratic League, the main party representing the ethnic Albanians, said Krasniqi was the 11th victim of Serbian police repression.